MI CONTd

H.F.M. 69

Pages: 151-355)

இரா யோகநாதன்.

செப்பனிடுபவர் பெயர் :

செப்பனிடுவதற்காக எடுத்துக்
சொள்ளப்பட்ட நாள் :

செப்பனிட்டு முடித்த நாள் : - 2004

சரிபார்க்கும் மு. நி. பா. எ. 1. 5/8/04

சரிபார்க்கும் மு. நி. பா. எ. 2. 6/8/04

20/8/04
ஆராய்ச்சி
உதவியாளர்

S.No.46. **EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.**

181

2 HFM. B No 69

G.O.No.260 Public dated [illegible]-1932.

"BHARATA DESEEYA GEETHAM."

Lalaji gave up his life --- only to bring benefit.

[illegible] day, he stood to boycot the wretched Simon and gave up his life gloriously, causing sorrow in the hearts of the people.

Because the cruel Sergeant Saunders beat him with a whip Lalaji gave up his life sooner.

He worked whole heartedly with a view to bring the idea of Non-Cooperation into prominence. To profit (the country).

We all of us praised him and showered a rain of flowers upon him when we heard that he gave up his life.

[illegible] broke onl[illegible] differences. He forgot himself when doing so and the wh[illegible] Baratha country praised him. He held aloft the banner with courage, to put down the men of pride and proclaim them ([illegible]) the truth.

Let all hear Mayandi's wor[illegible] work in the cause of the country without slackness and with sincerity.

Buy cheap Khadar cloth and wear it with pleasure, so that poverty may go.

Let us cast aside the other despicable clothes. Khadar alone is good.

[illegible] Swaraj and praise it.

[illegible] with cou[illegible] the practice of habitual drinking.

Listen [illegible] of Mayandi, which point to the right way. Be profitted (thereby).

"Brave India." - - - - - - - - - - - Come- with great strength of mind, Join the picketing with all earnestness-Pious Gandhi, who is capable of experimenting goes.

He will not join and walk in the path of those who are proud of heart.

The great man, whom the world praises went on board to London with good will.

He held aloft the banner of "Bharatha" and went straight to Parliament with a view to deliver ably his speech there.

It is good to conduct oneself with a clear conscience, having for your guidance the innumerable precepts (of greaát men)

We won the battle of Salt Law. With similar truth (on his side) even now he hurried forward.

Hence forward we shall walk in the same path holding aloft the same banner with unity and goodwill.

Burning with the patriotism of the mother country, Mayandi, the country&s friend, has sung these truths.

--:--

Lr

183

EXTRACT FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement 1930 & 1935

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. (Proscribed literature Myl)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Deesiya Geethangal" - Tamil Book - forfeited)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.385 (Confidential)dated 7-3-1932, Public Dept.

The Government of Madas declared forfeited a bookin tamil entitled "Deesiya Geethangal" written by Mangaldas of Trichinopoly.

Selections from GOs relating to civil disobedience movement (1930-35)
Proscribed Literature: Tamil books (1932)

S.No.67.

EXTRACT FROM PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O.NO.385. Public dated 7-3-1932:

--:--

"DESEEYA GEETHANGAL."

We shall deem Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi to be the merciful God Himself and worship him. We know that the Mahatma laboured hard to enable all his dear countrymen to secure liberation.

There is no doubt hereafter about (his) countrymen, who depend (upon) him securing the felicity of swaraj. He has shown us the way to make (our) mind overflow with joy.

The ordinances promulgated to suit the occasion, repression and the lathi charges of the Police are gone. The heart of Mother Bharata, who was grieved has become composed, Public interests have been greatly promoted.

He (Gandhi) caused self-government to gain power and strength in the world. The country is indeed benefited by (this) excellent person.

(Motilal Nehru) was an opulent person, who rendered assistance to the people that suffered misery on account of the unjust massacre committed by the Government in the year 1919. He was a person who fought against the regulation known as the law of deportation and got rid of it completly.

He came into this world as a key to unlock the fetters of slavery. He was the highly virtuous soul that gave away Ananda Bhavan. He dedicated his sturdy body, wealth and soul all the three for the good of the public on account of the cruelty experienced owing to the commencement of repression.

This prince of Allahabad gave up his legal profession several times for the purpose of effecting a reform suitable to his mother land. He was the hero that started a war of non-violence on account of the trouble caused by the foreigners not-withdrawing from the country. Alas: He gave up his life, having become embittered against the administration carried on by the Emperor who is ruling the world.

He was a patriot, who took a firm resolve that he would never fail to acquire the swaraj spoken of even by being born again on earth with liberty, deeming the lives of the large

number of excellent people to be his own even though he might have to lose his life. He was an upright person who lovingly joined the civil disobedience movement-started by the pre-eminent saint Gandhi. Nevertheless, he was a leader who quietly went to prison with his relations, wife and children.

Motilal was an eminent person, who set up in array a corps for carrying on the struggle of non-violence which engenders a feeling, in spite of the continuous adoption of several repressive measures in regard to the disobedience of the Salt Act. He was a philanthropist who served the interest of thirty three crores of people on earth. Words cannot aptly describe the nature of the ~~nature of the~~ misery suffered on account of his loss by India, which occupies the foremost position in the world.

He deemed the prison, to which government are sending the political offenders to be a place of penance for great Rishis. He too entered prison along with his dear son, Jawaharlal Nehru.

Can the inconsolable grief caused by our parting from Bhagat Singh whose fame is proclaimed throughout this world, be assuaged? Can it be relieved hereafter?

They the authorities arrested Sukhdev, Rajguru and Bhagat Singh on a charge of having thrown a bomb boldly on the famous Assembly and as if this would not do, wrote a judgment very secretly to the effect that they had murdered Saunders, and sentenced them to death. When Sukhdev, Rajguru and Bhagat Singh, without feeling sorry in the least, said in reply. Do not hang us unnecessarily. Shoot us down they the authorities not knowing what to do, secretly hanged them in the Lahore Jail before 7-30 p.m. on the 23rd March 1931 and thereby made their hearts throb. Alas! (our) sorrow grows intense at the thought of their wicked action in having ventured to hang them.

Can the inconsolable grief be assuaged? Can it be relieved hereafter?.

In spite of ever so many crores of petitions having been submitted by patriots, our Viceroy rejected them without the least mercy. What indeed was the cruelty committed by these persons?

7 186

The all-powerful Government hanged the tender youths hastily without granting permission even to their mothers, who bore them for ten months and gave birth to them their fathers, relations and kinsmen to see them and they themselves cremated the dead bodies of these persons according to the religious rites of the Sikhs without handing them over toe their relations. Alas! Hearing this news all genuine devotees including the saint Gandhi who is an excellent person, are weeping with a loud voice and the whole world is crying aloud, overwhelmed with grief.

Alas! Bhagat Singh who was highly renowned for heroism and was an excellent person that afforded consolation with an undaunted heart, has lost his precious life and parted from us. They the authorities hanged Sukhdev, Rajguru and Bhagat Singh-all the three in the prison house at Lahore at the bright hour 7.30 p.m. on the 10th Panguni of the famous Pramoduta year, only to make all the people of India shed tears and cry.

We have lost three youths and feel sorely distressed.

Further, is this not a sin? When is this anomaly to disappear? Is it proper to hang persons for nothing?

We have lost three youths called Sukhdev, Rajguru and the excellent Sardar Bhagat Singh, who were devotees of their country.

We have lost three youths with the result that the hearts of the people in the country throb with grief, those that hear of it shed tears and the people of Lahore enact a tragedy.

Their execution has come as an evil occurrence on earth at an age when they could lead a prosperous and cheerful life.

We have lost three youths who gave up their lives on the 23rd March 1931, having become disgusted with inferior pleasures.

While in every house one person turns to the west and spins, removing the seed from the cotton grown in the country and converting it into highly refined cotton, O spinning wheel, whirl round towards the west always, whirl on pleasantly hereafter, whirl on saying that we have secured swaraj.

The foreigners, who are an uncivilised and base people have deprived us of all our industries. Whoever will not laugh at hearing this? O spinning wheel, whirl on always, whirl on pleasantly whirl round realising and declaring the truth.

8 187

The present plight of India, which knows everything is miserable indeed.

Virtuous persons have disappeared. Highly fraudulent persons abound. It is only under this system of administration that false witnesses have increased in number.

The kingdom is in the hands of the conservative Lords. Their heart will not be moved to the end. There is Gandhi's help. Let us adopt his gentleness, swim across the ocean and reach the shore and win a victory by acting resolutely on the words of the bold Bhaskaran.

O child! The crane is flying. Call it without getting angry. By crane, I mean the crane which has come to kill us. It is a crane which is on the banks of the sacred river. It is a crane which has no food to eat. It is a crane which is mad after beef. O child! It has come here and is flying. It is a crane which carries on trade. It is a crane which has come to ruin our life. It is a crane which has come to suck the blood. O child, It is now governing a kingdom. It is a crane which has a beak like a bunch. It is a crane that lives in a cold snowy region in the extreme (north). Alas! O child! That vindictive crane is governing us, keeping us under subjection.

--:--

Selections from [illegible] relating to civil disobedience movement [illegible]
Proscribed literature :: Tamil Books (1932)

188

S.No.68. **EXTRACT FROM PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHEETS.**

G.O.NO.924, Public Dated 30-6-1932.

--:--

9

GANDHI KALANCHIYA GITAM.

The book consists of 12 songs same of which are in praise of Mr.Gandhi and some others are in praise of India, Khaddar cloth and the ancient weaving industry of the country and description is given in these songs of the benefits derived from turning the spinning wheel and wearing khaddar cloth as well as of the evils resulting from drink and the people are exhorted to carry on picketing and render help to the volunteers engaged in picketing toddy shops, turn the spinning wheel, wear khaddar and there by secure swaraj and get rid of all troubles.

The truthful and pre-eminent Gandhi, who is an excellent person praised everywhere, has come to cure the disease of bondage aflicting the people.

We have come to praise the country of India saying 'Vande Mataram' and all of us have come to sing in a united manner. Let us now dance here, waving the garland of victory, and cry victory to Mahatma Gandhi.

Let us sing pallu songs and render help to the volunteers that picket toddy shops.

Let us sing songs along with Padman Chellappan and carry on picketing in company with women of a superior order. Let us now beat the drum of victory. Let us throw out a challenge saying that we are heroes on earth.

Wear khaddar, singing victory to Gandhi every day.

We can get rid of bondage in the world which is surrounded by the seas and, singing songs of prosperity, make the people enjoy happiness.

One cotton plant is estimated to yield ten seers of cotton. If this is properly converted into yarn and the Khaddar made therefrom is worn, it will result in manliness and beauty and will also serve as a medicine for curing the disease of bondage. Further, it will lead to a profit of twenty crores of rupees for us and bring about glory to the twentieth century. You had better wear this.

It is highly sinful to see the sight of a person not dressed in khaddar. The wearing of a dress which is opposed to it will destroy manliness itself.

O damsel with coiled tresses! What for is the woollen cloth

required when there is our khaddar cloth in the country?

O damsel with coiled tresses: What for do those that live, praising the persons who died on the gallows, require khaki mull.

O damsel with coiled tresses: What for do those that deem the life of satyagraha to be a true life require knives and swords?

O damsel with coiled tresses: What for do those that have realised their self by means of passive force require appointments?

It would be well if we do away with liquor which proves detrimental to us. It would be well if the Indian brethren consider this and picket the shops dealing in it.

O Cuckoo: You had better warble and say to him (Mr.Gandhi) 'Vande Mataram' several times even today, so that we may not lead a life of bondage again and again and undergo troubles.

O Indian bretherns: Now there is no other way of securing swaraj. Let us turn the spinning wheel. It will remove vicious indolence and confer swaraj.

Can we live in bondage? Are there no men here? Are we all eunuchs? If we wear khaddar cloth at all times according to Gandhi's command, we can secure swaraj.

Can we be simply witnessing the sight of the Indians, who are praised by the world, languishing on account of hunger? Alas! Is this not a pity? If we henceforth turn the hand spinning wheel famine will vanish rapidly.

You had better wear khaddar cloth, turn the hand spinning wheel and thereby get rid of troubles and secure swaraj.

What is known as the discus weapon of Vishnu is but a wheel and what is known as the charka is also a wheel. It is only the wheel that brought about the death of demons and it is only the wheel that will confer swaraj.

--:--

Extracts from G.O.S relating to civil disobedience
Proscribed literature :: Tamil [illegible] (1932)

S.NO.69.

EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O.NO.64 Public Dated [illegible]-1932.

--:--

190

"SONGS ON THE INIQUITOUS ACT OF HANGING THE THREE SONS OF BHARTHA MATHA, BHAGAT SINGH, RAJGURU AND SUKHDEV".

11

--:--

Let us sing the praise of the three heroic sons of Bharata. Let us join with those who gave up their lives without any partiality. Let us applaud the happy persons who stood unstaggered on the gallows. Let us unite together and wear khaddar, so as to promote out own welfare.

Associations all over the country spoke in praise of Sirdar Bhagat Singh, the excellent Sukhdev and Sir Rajguru. There are three persons who earned a good name. These are honourable persons who sacrificed their domestic life.

Seeing all the fuss made by deceitful persons and feeling sorrowful therefore, he (Bhagat Singh) thought of continuing to argue, but attained composure of mind by the words of the true saint, Gandhi.

(An European called Saunders, belonging to the Government, beat the virtuous Lajpat Rai, when he made a vehement speech during the visit of the Simon Commission.) The aforesaid Rai sincerely deemed this to be a grievance at heart and gave up his life on this earth for securing redemption from slavery. They unlawfully arrested Bhagat Singh on the ground that he had treacherously killed Saunders, confined him in prison and soon awarded a sentence of hanging.

While telegrams were pouring in in quick succession every day that they should not be hanged, while wocked persons devoid of a pure heart were instigating the authorities there to root them out and were maintaining a stubborn attitude in the face of the people of the wide world saying that their action amounted to balckguardism, and while unfourtunately a new law was passed urging the hanging of the three persons, the three persons were brought under guard with the idea of taking away their lives.

We have lost on this earth Bhagat Singh, the hero of Bharat. We have lost him on this earth. We have forgotten the leader of the country.

He was a youth of twenty-four years. They put an end to his life without informing any one.

It is said that he was a highly capable person and that he led an excellent life. It is said that he was a person who under - stood the troubles and that he was a servant of his country.

He was born in the Punjab and he forgot the world. He was a heroic person that possessed an undaunted heart.

He was a pure person that never uttered a lie and he was a famous man. He was a good and just person that spoke the truth. It is unjust that he should have died..

It is said that this heroic person, born of a good family, threw a bomb, asked that he should be shot quickly and characterised the rule as a despotic one.

We have lost even Bhagat Singh, the hero of Bharata. All of us in the world are standing with tears in our eyes. We are feeling aggrieved at the injustice perpetrated by the wretches. We have become impoverished by addopting a life of bondage like fools.

He was a hero, who gave up his life by rendering service to the country cheerfully. He was a youth, who had immense wealth in the world. He was a bold and valiant person who was not afraid of any one.

Ah! Say whether we are to lend support to the injustice of the people of a foreign country putting us down.

Though several crores of people signed a petition and sent it to them, the Government devoid of pity, together with several friends who are obsessed by a greed for money, brought about his hanging so as to make him experience agony.

Bhagat Singh of this country, who gave up his life for the country at a glorious period of his existence as a human being is a great patriot.

The valiant Bhagat Singh was born as the son of the famous Krishna Singh. He hated at heart the party that carried on an agitation and gave up his life in wrath.

Bhagat Singh was a very wealthy person. He was a person fit to get angry. He was a person fit to follow a righteous path. He came to this world in order to enable us to secure good. Bear in mind daily the desire to Mr. Gandhi, purchase only pure

Khaddar cloth, wear it with devotion along with your wives and children and get rid of foreign cloth completely by setting fire to it.

They gave up their lives on the earth valiantly, without any fraud, so as to make the whites witness the heroism with which they came forward as servants of the Bharata Land.

Though we are born as men and die in a glorious manner, the desire charished by us ever since we were born in earth should indeed be fulfilled.

The plan chalked out in respect of salt by the godly Gandhi, who is praised throughout the country, is indeed the proper one for the youths residing in the country to follow.

He is a great person that was preaching about the satyagraha struggle.

Though one may be an undaunted hero on this earth, can one achieve victory without suffering defeat when the time for one's ruin comes? Did the capital city of Lanka, which was surrounded by water, which had a fortress with seven walls around and which was ruled by a person with ten heads, endure?

--:--

Selections from GOs relating to civil disobedience movement (1930-1934)
Proscribed literature :: Tamil Books (1932)

C

193

S.No.70. EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O.NO. 160, Public dated 28-1-32.

14

"Tamil National Songs".

They (the government) killed three lions endowed with courage and heroism. The devotees of the country were greatly agitated at this deeming it to be treachery. The wretches made the land of Bharata grieve. Gandhi, who strove hard in this connection, felt agitated and shed tears. They killed the three excellent persons whose fame spread throughout the world, who had attained eminence of a high order and who were the lions of India, and thereby made their bodies shudder and their valour disappear.

The body of the valiant Bhagat Singh, who had resolved to give up his body, wealth and soul - (all) the three for the country, quivered with excessive rage, when he learnt that Lajpat lost his life on account of his having been beaten by the Police with a lathi unjustly on the 30th October 1928 and he threw a bomb courageously in the Legislative Assembly. The Government forthwith arrested that pure minded patriot and awarded a sentence of transportation for life so as to cause affliction. Subsequently they charged our Rajguru, Bhagat Singh and Sukhdev with the offence of having murdered an unjust superintendent,(killed them) at 7.30 p.m. on the memorable day of 23rd March 1931 in the Lahore jail and there by caused agitation among the people in the country and made those that heared of it weep aloud every day.

Which is the law that authorised the burning of the dead bodies of the youths on the banks of the highly pure sutlej, without handing them over to the mothers who bore them for the Government which is ruling over the Indians, who do not swerve from truth, by keeping them under subjection? Are not the people of the world aware that Pandiya lost his kingdom and gave up his life on account of the excellent Kovalan?

Can we neglect the words of Gandhi, the saint, who has been born to strive for securing victory for the country? Can we still touch the mull manufactured by the wretches? Is not the misery suffered all these days on account of our having been caught like cotton in the grievous dissimulation practised by those

hypocrites, who are more cruel than even poison enough? Can we not wear khaddar so as to secure redemption from this?

They killed the three patriotic lions and left the people in excessive grief. They killed the three patriotic lions and made the people of the world feel greatly agitated, roar and shed tears and our loving devotees suffer much with mental anguish. They killed the three patriotic lions and thereby made their parents agonise, the people of the vast world weep aloud and the learned persons feel greatly agitated and anxious and stand with tears in their eyes.

Our Bhagat Singh, who had an undaunted mind, felt greatly agitated on learning that Lala Lajpat, the victorious lion of the Punjab, died only because he was beaten with a lathi by the merciless and wretched Police so as to make him die, and threw a bomb in the Legislative Assembly which confers no benefit. In view of that offence they sentenced him to transportation for life and, confining him in prison on that day in a cruel manner, hatched a big conspiracy.

The unjust and cruel demons accused our Rajguru, Bhagat Singh and Sukhdev, the three valiant persons, who had resolved to sacrifice their lives solely for the country, for having murdered a rude and highly fradulent Police Officer, and hanged the princes, refusing even the prayer of the faultless saint Gandhi.

Which is the law that warrants one being charged with an offence without any evidence? Does this become the rule of glorious kings? Is it proper for the government to do so? Those whose mind is full of deceit and whose nature is characterised by imprudence killed the three patriotic lions).

O highly courageous sons of Mother Bharata O friends of India Why should we feel sorely distressed on earth, in spite of our having been born as heroes that win victory in the war ? Is it not enough that we have remained in bondage for so many days? We can attain happiness if we realise at least hereafter the significanc of the words of the saint Gandhi, who is deemed to be a supernal person having mystic power, and wear pure khaddar dress,

which will secure victory. If we get dispirited more and more the western demons will make us suffer much misery on earth.

Not a little is the trouble caused by hypocrites. In order to estimate its extent, realise the significance of the elegant words of Durairajan of Tanjore and give up the use of the cloth of those that are guilty of the five heinous crimes.

O people who are in distress having lost the glory of your mother land: Delightfully abide by the words of the pure minded Gandhi. We can acquire swaraj speedily and get rid of our pitiable condition completely. If we work hard for the Government for all time without any sense, when is our poor country to secure redemption? Are you not as yet inclined to give up appointments? Have we not the wisdom endowed by God? In olden days God Vishnu rendered assistance to the Pandavas. In these days, the sympathetic Gandhi will render assistance to the Indians. We should always be united and detest the consumption of liquor, which is a bad habit. A few valiant persons gave up their lives for the good of the country. What is the use of our existence on earth without any love for the country? Is not the affliction suffered by us like cotton sufficient? Can we not wear khaddar, which is very excellent. Read the Tamil songs of Durairajan of Tanjore and fearlessly hold the flag of liberty, completely getting rid of the condition in which you felt greatly agitated on account of (your) having been enslaved to demons and roamed about like vagabonds.

The wise and saintly Gandhi is a lion that is not afraid of the wretched enemies.

We can achieve victory if all of us, realising the significance of the words of the pre-eminent Gandhi, wear khaddar which confers greatness and wage the passive war so as to earn fame and attain a life devoid of poverty in a proper manner.

Devise means for getting rid of bondage, seeing that no other town can compare with this country of India. Why is the misery suffered not yet sufficient? Is the harm caused by the cruel wretches inconsiderable ? Why should you remain without wearing khaddar? Should there be discussion (about it?) Will not the words uttered by Gandhi, the supernal person having mystic power, enter your ears? He is a bold person that

17

196

characterised prison as a place of penanc and a hero that indeed entered it and performed penance.

--:--

Selections from GOS relating to civil disobedience movement
Proscribed literature :: Tamil Series (1932) (1930-35)

S.No.71. EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O.NO. 348 Public dated 29-2-1932.

--:--

18 197

Why should the previous flag of the mother be hoisted?

There is no country in the world which does not possess a flag. Every one of the countries has hoisted its own flags. They respect their flags. The people regard them as dearer than their life, dearer than their country. On account of the flags terrible wars have been fought and rivers of blood have run.

Why should there be so much fight for the flag? The flag is the life of a country. All adorations are to the flag. If the flag is lowered, it is indicative of the country having gone under the sway of foreigners.

To illustrate; what was the object of the English people having taken part in the recent European war? What have the English to do in a war between the Germans and the French? Is it not because that a German victory would be prejudicial to the absolute sway of the British people-the domination of the Union Jack. The absolute sway of the English flag.

When the other Nations are flying their flags at the cost of much blood shed, what are we doing? What do we do we sons of India? We have raised high the flag of foreigners we are eunuchs under the foreign swamy. What strange times. Did not the rulers who ruled this country hundreds of years ago fly their own flags over other countries also?

Are we, who are the sons of such a Bharata Matha justified in having raised the flag of a foreign rule, is it proper on our part, is it manliness?

Why cannot we raise our flag? What if we raise it? Why cannot we sacrifice our lives for the sake of our flag?

But the foreign government offer us obstruction. They do not permit it. They cannot carry away money from our country as they please. To prevent their unquestioned authority we must establish our flag of independence.

There are certain people who do not see through the plans

of the Government. It is because they are wanting in education. Is it not the duty of the Government to spread education? In the days when our own rulers ruled our country there were a number of pial schools in every village. At present there is not even a single schoold for a village.About 250 crores of rupees are collected from us by way of taxes directly and indirectly, Out of this large amount only 13 crores go to education. Will 13 crores suffice for the Baratha country which comprises of a population of 32 xxxxx crores? The Government spend 0.6.6 Ps per head per annum on education; will 0.6.6 ps. per head procure proper learning? Just think of this. Is not the foreigners' intention(or plan)clear? Is it not their intention to rob India of her wealth?

It is why our Mahatma says that we should have complete swaraj (Independence). Is it not necessary therefore to hoist the flag of the motherland?.

According to both English and Indian experts the average daily income of an Indian subject is reckoned at 1 anna 9 pies. A fourth of this income is collected as Government tax. This tax is collected from us with or without our knowing it and deceitfullly (sometimes).

For this payment of a fourth of our income as tax, do we derive any benefit out of it?

Innumerable evils are the result. How? A fourth of the tax levied from us (58/250) is spent on the Army. What for is the Army kept? It is to control and subjugate us and not for any other. This army consists of people of two countries Europeans and Indians. Of these, the larger expenditure is on account of Europeans. Axx An Indian sepoy costs about 400 rupees while an European soldier costs about Rs.2000/-. Is this not worse than tyranny? What has the English soldier got to do in India? Why should he remain here? What is the good to us by his stay? Can these questions be answered? No., Never.They will blink like thieves. Can a blind man look up like a King? So is the present Government. If the present Government is for the good of India, will so much money be wasted

so unjustly? Is there any doubt that the present government has come here to rob Indians and immerse them in poverty? There need be no doubt at all.

Do not the Indian possess capacity to fight? Do they not possess martial skill? Did not this same Government experience untold difficulties from the Nawab's army in the battle of plassey. Did they not fly before them? Why then should five times more money be spent on European army? Cannot more men of India be employed in the Army? It is the fear that it might lead to the abolition of the British Rule that underlies the idea. However British rule will have an end, as everything has an end. The end is in sight. Mahatma will hoist the flag of the Baratha matha. He will fly the flag of independence. It is to do away with these injustices and to procure equality to Indians with other nationalities Mahtma wants the flag of independence, the National flag of India to be raised. It is for this he began the civil disobedience movement.

Our country is governed chiefly by Civilians from England and certain Indians who pass the I.C.S. examination there. They receive very large pay. There is no such large salary paid either in England or in other European countries. The money obtained from us-poor people, is squandered unjustly and improperly as if with out check. The Viceroy is paid 20,000 rupees a month excluding all expenses. Similarly Governors of Provinces get 10,000 rupees each excluding all expenditure. But only a few among us get a pay of Rs.5000/-. This is like throwing a crumb to a barking dog and no other, These consider this treatment as if they have got heavenly bliss. By such means they create communal discord among us. This is all the result of our cooperation of confidence. How can we live in peace hereafter. Famine is largely prevalent in India. For this purpose - for the relief of famine, the India Government spend a liberal amount of 40,lacs of rupees. But they spend 23/- crores of rupees on their officers. On the Army, through the several channels mentioned above 58 crores are spent. Whose is all this money. It is wealth of the Indians suffering

21

950

from famine. Should the money got from the poor people be squandered like this? We ask whether they have forgotten that there are 32 crores of people living. Who will come forward to offer a proper explanation. Nobody. Nobody. Can you hide the truth. It is in view to stop these wastes, it is sought to plant the National flag.

What we have said above are injustices perpetrated under colour of authority. We shall state what is being done in the name of trade. We believe our readers would have forgotten that the English people came to our country as traders. They have not given up their trade. By trade also they carry off much money.

There is a fraud in exchange. We lose annually ten crores of rupees by it. This is a great fraud perpetrated by the Government to benefit the English people while Indians are immersed in poverty.

Exports from India exceed the imports. Chiefly raw materials produced in India are exported. Our exports amount to several crores of rupees annually, that is to say about 320 crores worth a rupee. If the rate were 16 d. a rupee we would get 355 crores./by a year. The rate of exchange at present is 18 d./rate we get the 18. only 320 crores. We thus lose 35 crores. But we get from the imported goods a compensation of 25 crores. We thus lose 10 crores a year by the present rate of exchange. Is it not the money of Indians? Have we no right to question this? We have. It is what Mahatma says. He wants the rate to be fixed at 16 d. a rupee. The Government do not pay need to it. We cannot obtain redress of these wrongs except by establishing the flag of independence. It is why we want to hoist the National flag.

Yet another point. They (British people) earn 60 crores of rupees from cloths supplied. We should prohibit their import here as well as their sale. There has been a great deal of agitation about this. No result. Now boycott movement is in progress. Volunteers with much patience stand before shops and dissuade purchasers. These get copious beatings and kickings and are jailed in large numbers. Is this all for our good? Is this not for the benefit of the English people? Before the year 1809 we

22

201

were exporting cloth to England. Several laws were enacted to prevent the importation of our cloths. They prohibited the importation. We mention one of the severest enactments made for the purpose. The law inflicted a fine of £5 on a wearer of Indian cloth and £20 on a seller. Why not we enact a similar law here?

We can do so in our swaraj-when we have our own Government. It is why we want to establish our own flag. We must establish swaraj. To this end has Mahatma Gandhi initiated the Satyagraha movement. May Bharathamatha bless us with victory? Vandematharam.

--:--

Selections from G.O.s relating to civil disobedience movements (1930-33)

Proscribed literature :: Tamil Books (1933)

274

S.No.72.

EXTRACT FROM PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHETS.

202

G.O.No.33, Dated 9th January, 1933.

--:--

23

"SUTANDIRA POR"

This book, on the wrapper of which a picture of Mr.Gandhi is printed, was published by Chakravarti Rajagopala Achariyar, apparently at the Gandhi Ashramam, Tiruchengodu, and printed at the Hindi Prachar Press, Madras. It contains some verses in praise of God Muruga, extracts, from the songs of the late C.Subrahmanya Bharati entitled 'Thirst for liberty,' Vande Mataram, 'Sutandira Pallu' and Long live Sen Tamil' verses entitled Satya Por composed by one V.Ramalingam Pillai of Namakhal and the Purna Swaraj resolution said to have been passed by the people throughout the country on the 26th January 1930 expressing their resolve that India should sever her connexion with Britain and secure Purna Swaraj, inasmuch as the British Government have not only deprived the people of their independence but have also ruined the wealth, organization, education and the inherent characteristics of this country by making the exploitation of its wealth the underlying policy of their administration, and their conviction that they can get rid of the tyrannical government if they adopt non-co-operation and launch a no-tax campaign on peaceful lines. It also contains the eleven demands made of the Government by Mr.Gandhi with a view to reducing the poverty of the country an article on the evils of drink and the necessity for getting rid of it, an article on the iniquitous character of the salt tax, the substance of the letter written by Mr.Gandhi to Lord Irwin on the 2nd March 1930, Mr.Gandhi's rejoinder published in the Young India to the reply sent by the Private Secretary to Lord Irwin, the resolution that should, it is said, be passed by the people in connexion with Mr.Gandhi's satyagraha campaign reiterating their resolve to adopt satyagraha and establish Purna Swaraj, an appeal to the Tamils either to join the satyagraha struggle and do their duty in connexion therewith or to render financial and other help, if they are unable to take direct part in the struggle.

and the pledge to be taken by those desirous of joining the Satyagraha Volunteer Corps. //

The following observations among others find place in the book:--(In Subrahmanya Bharati's songs) When will this thirst for liberty be quenched? When will our glamour for slavery disappear altoghether? When will the fetters on the hands of our Mother be removed? When will our troubles cease? We will say Vande Mataram. We will say that we will worship our mother the great Bharata land. There are a thousand castes here. What justification is there for foreigners to come in on this account? Are not those, who are born of the same mother, brothers, even though they may quarrel amongst themselves? Indeed we will be prosperous, if we are united. If union disappears among us, it will certainly result in degradation to all of us. This should be understood well. If this truth is realized, what else do we require? Whatever position we may attain, that position will be common to us all. We will prosper, all the thirty crores of us. If we fall, we will fall, all the thirty crores of us. Feeling ashamed now of the days that were spent in the past, when we cherished mean slavish service, and spurning in contempt this lot of slavery in order to get rid of the past degradation, we will say Vande Mataram. The talk everywhere is about liberty. It has been established that all of us are equals. We shall sound our victory by means of the chank. We shall proclaim this to the whole world. have understood that the land we live in is our own. We have also understood that it belongs only to us. We will no longer slave for any one on this earth. We will live rendering service only to the Omnipresent Being.

(In the verses of Ramalingam Pillai) A Bloodless war waged without swords is coming. Let all those that believe in the eternity of truth join it. The righteous path chalked out by the gentle soul known as Gandhi is indeed a divine path calculated to minimize evil among men.

In the book proper) It is the toddy and liquor shops opened and maintained by the Government that destroys the wealth of the people who eke out their livelihood by working hard. It is the Government that lends much support to drink. If the shops opened by them are closed, illicit drinking will cease gradually. While God has created salt for India, we are now buying one-third of the salt required by India, which is brought in ships from foreign countries, by paying a price therefor as a result of English rule. The Government have levied a huge tax on salt, which is fifteen or twenty times its actual price. It is only for collecting this iniquitous tax without fail that it has been laid down that nobody shuld manufacture salt, that the Government alone should do it and that anybody can take a licence and manufacture salt only in a place specified by them, where they have appointed officers for purposes of supervision. It is only the excessive expenditure incurred by the Government that is responsible for the levy of a tax on an important foodstuff. It would not be possible to pay huge salaries to officials without this income. Vain items of expenditure ~~incurred by the Government that is responsible for the levy of a tax on an important~~ such as the military expenditure cannot be incurred. No other tax can be levied on poor people. It is only if a tax is levied on the salt consumed by them that a portion of their money will go into the coffers of the Government. See how iniquitous this is! A big satyagraha war for the liberation of the country is being waged under the leadership of Mr.Gandhi. All provinces have actively participated in the war. O Tamils! You have slept enough. Awake and arise.

Selections from G.O.s relating to civil disobedience movement
Proscribed literature :: Tamil books (1933) 27

S.No.73. EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS. (1930-35)

G.O.NO.976, Public,
Dated, 23rd November,1933. 205

"Babu Subash Chandra Bose." 26

The white man will tremble if he sees or thinks of a Bengali, even in his dream.

Why should we be under the British domination? India is rich in its man power and natural resources. India has now grown up. But the Foreigners say that India is yet a child. India has now gained sufficient strength to guard itself and to govern independently. India is neither Canada nor Australia nor South Africa. Indians are Easterners, and they are different from the whites. And so, what is there favourable or in common for India and Britain to live in union? If there is nothing, then why should we be under British Domination? So long as we remain under the British domination, we shall have the low mentality that we are inferior. So long as we remain under the British domination we shall not be in a position to prevent their exploitation.

The servile servants of the Government who have lost their senses are not worthy evan to untie the shoes of Subash Babu. They did not stop with beating him. He was arrested and imprisoned. The hard hearted Police did not care to treat his injuries after he was arrested. He was not given food for a whole day. This is said to be a Civilized Government, and it is this Government that treated an unrivalled leader thus. Even a barbarous Government would not act thus. Is this a civilized act or a devilish act? Mahatma Gandhi was beaten in South Africa by the whites and not by the Government. In spite of this opinion (Condition of Bose) the stony-hearted Government was not magnanimous.

The invaders left the country immediately after looting it. Though the Moghuls ruled India they settled in India. But the British did not settle in India. They make India their halting place. They would not leave India. ~~They would not leave India.~~ They have encircled India like a python. They sap all our power and make us impotent.

What will the Britiish leave behind when they quit the country? Nothing except dark cells and deep pits. It is said that Swaraj is the monopoly of the whites. Much propaganda is being made by the whites that Indians are unfit for swaraj.

If some legislation towards social reform is attempted the whites who are relations of Miss Mayo oppose the legislation joining forces with the orthodox people.

If you make endeavours to improve the industries, neither the Government nor the Imperial Bank, nor the chamber of commerce will give you help. They do not care for the country nor for the industrial developments.

Pass any amount of resolutions for "Prohibition" in your councils, corporations, etc., The Government is not going to heed this.

Famine will rage all over the country and people will die of starvation and yet you will not be in a position to prevent the export of food stuffs. This is our present state. Stop co-operation with the Government. Boycott all British goods, and the British administration will totter and break down.

When the repressive laws failed to be effective and when the British good did not command a sale, Lord Irwin was forced to enter into a pact with Gandhi.

When the national movement rises high there will be hartals all over the country. The boycott of British goods will be intense. This will be followed by disobedience of laws. The no-tax campaign may also crop up. As the movement intensifies the administration will be frightened. Then only will the white man in England wake up.

--:--

selections from GOs relating to civil disobedience movement (1930-
Proscribed literature :: Tamil books 1933

S.No.74. EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED TAMIL SONGS AND PAMPHLETS: 207

G.O.NO. 466. Public, Dated 31-5-'33.

--:--

98

"VINAYAKA SAVARKAR".

This book, which contains a picture of Vinayaka Damodar Savarkar and which purports to deal briefly with his life, refers to his parentage, the glorious history of his community and his literary talents, devotion to God, patriotism, spirit of sacrifice and great fortitude. Mention is made of the political agitation in the Mahratta country in 1897, Savarkar's resolve to work for the liberation of the country by using force, if necessary, his domestic afflictions, his political activities in India, London and France such as the formation of political associations, the carrying on of revolutionary propaganda for the attainment of liberty and the training of the Indians in the manufacture of bombs, his efforts to bring together the revolutionaries in Egypt, Ireland, China, India and other places who hated the British domination, the sentence of transportation passed on his elder brother as a result of the revolutionary activities in India and the troubles and mental afflictions undergone by Savarkar both in England and India on account of his political predilections. A gist of the two letters written by Savarkar to his sister-in-law is given, wherein he emphasises the need for rendering national service, recounts the rare sacrifices he has made for Mother Bharata and urges in effect that every one should become a victim to the sacrificial fire lit for the attainment of liberty. His voyage to India under strong escort in 1910 and his unsuccessful attempt to escape from custody at Marseilles are then described and the book concludes after referring to the sentence of transportation passed on him on a charge of having waged war against the King and his internment in Ratnagiri on his return from the Andamans after a period of 14 years. There is a statement in the book that both the young and the old have several lessons to learn from the life of Vinayaka Damodar Savarkar.

The book contains the following observations among others:--

Some Englishmen are desirous of keeping the Indians under subjection for ever and ruling over them and Valentine Chirol is one of them.

The period 1905 to 1912 is the best in the political history of the land of Bharata. It was only then that the Indians realized their degraded and slavish condition and rose in rage to get rid of it. Several were the persons who were primarily responsible for this and the foremost place should in a way be given to the Savarkar brothers among them.

There was a political agitation in the Mahratta country in 1897. A new spirit came into being there as a result of the celebration of the heroic deeds of Shivaji and the people began to long for a life of freedom, hating the life of bondage.

For the sin of his having participated in the swadeshi movement an order was issued that no college aided by Government should admit Vinayakar. It was only Vinayaka Damodar Savarkar that earned that honour or dishonour for the first time.

In the course of his advice to a youth who was sailing along with him for London, Savarkar says: Think of the condition of mother Bharata. She is languishing on account of poverty. She is shedding tears on seeing her children suffering for want of food to eat and clothes to wear. Her idea is that, if her children go to foreign countries they can understand the condition of the world and try to attain a lofty position. Her only desire is that all her children should become manly, wise and valorous. Hence we the sons of Bharata should all go to England, France, Russia and other countries, return after studying the method of promoting a revolutionary movement and strive to attain liberty. Ponder over this lofty ideal. Would you now think of going back to your place? See the miserable condition of Mother Bharata and come forward to render servde to her. That indeed is divine service.

At the time Savarkar went to London, there was not alertness and eagerness among the Indian youths residing there to secure the speedy

liberation of their motherland. Seeing this, Vinayakar Assembled all those youths and pointed out that it was not possible to secure liberty by the adoption of peaceful methods. He explained the manner in which countries like France and Italy had secured liberty and said that their object could not be achieved unless they resorted to revolutionary methods. All the Indian students were carried away by his eloquence and the force of his arguments and began to evince interest in revolution.

The credit of having tried to apprise the world for the very first time of the slavish condition of India goes to Vinayaka Damodar Savarkar.

In the course of his letter to his sister-in-law Savarkar says:- Mother Bharata is caught in the mouth of the crocodile known as bondage and is in great distress. She too is praying to God Vishnu for liberation.

In the course of another letter written to his sister-in-law, Savakar says:- What indeed is the present condition of our Mother Bharata? She has lost her status and, having become enslaved, is pining away and dying with all her bones crushed. When one thinks of this, tears flow in torrents. If one seeks the reasons for this, one's breathing will cease. While one thinks of the devices for liberating Mother Bharata who is undergoing misery and dying one's heart will burn and one will resolve to liberate the Mother at any cost. In these circumstances, all of us took a vow and made a pledge. We realized that, if we considered our life sweet, our vow would fail. We also dedicated our precious lives to the country. We stated that birth entailed the discharge of moral duties, that we would sacrifice our body for the discharge of those duties, that we would not think of our wives and children or pain and pleasure even in our dreams and that we would accomplish our object disinterestedly. Did the vow which we had taken in the company of our friends end in mere fun? Certainly not. You can witness with your own eyes the actual fulfilment of the same at present. We have consigned all our self-interests to the sacrificial fire intended for the liberation of the Mother and burnt and reduced them to ashes. We have not failed to act up to our words. We have redeemed our pledge! The children of my Mother are thirty

31 210

crores in number and among these, those that are actuated by intense patriotism and give up their lives in rendering service to her will become noble persons. What if the fire of patriotism completely destroys our lineage? The fame of our linea will live for ever.

Vinayaka Savarkar wrote a petition pointing our that it was wrong on the part of England to have arrested him in France and submitted it secretly to the League of Nations. Some of his friends also went to that League and argued on his behalf. Consequently the position of England became irksome. France called upon England to account for its action. But is not England unique in diplomacy? As that country exploited this diplomacy, the league evaded the issue.

As soon as Vinayaka Savarkar heard the sentence of transportation passed on him, he exclaimed: Unless we undergo indescribable hardship and severe affliction, the land of Bharata cannot achieve victory. Hence, I shall undergo the sentence cheerfully. He was in the Andamans prison for fourteen years. God alone knows the hardships suffered by him there.

...ctions from SRS relating to Civil Disobedience movement

Proscribed literature: Tamil books (1931 1930-)

.No.75. EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

G.O.NO.21, Dated 6th January, 1933.

Gramophone Sangita Kalanjiyam -- Part VI.

This book, which was published in May 1931 by V.R.Elumalai Pillai, consists of 26 songs said to be sung by S.V.Subbayya Bhagavatar, T.M.Khadar Batcha and Buffoon Shanmugam. The body of the book was printed at the Manoranjini Press, Sowcarpet, Madras, while the title page alone was printed at the Sri Bharati Press, Choolai, Madras. Most of the songs contained in the book have been reproduced from gramophone records. With the exception of five songs which are national in character, four songs which relate to certain episodes in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata and another song which refers to the replacement of oil lamps by electric lights, the rest are either comic or devotional or love songs. In some of the national songs, the people are asked to turn the handspinning wheel everday, having faith in it, get possession of their country and secure relief from their sufferings. They are also advised not to forget the teachings of Mr.Gandhi even in their dreams and to go in for khaddar so that self-government may be secured The other songs contain a description of the Punjab Massacre and an appeal to Goddess Bharata.

The following sentiments find place among others in the national songs:--O spinning wheel, whirl on saying that we have secured self-government. The foreigners, who are an uncivilized and base people (literally, the pulaiyas of the forest), have deprived us of all our industries. Whoever will not laugh on hearing this? Where is the strength of arms for us? Khaddar is the arrow of arrows at this juncture. Behold! The Punjab Massacre is a cruel sin and crime. Several persons had to die on account of the injustice of, and the treachery practised by, the people of other countries. The deception, which was practised in such a manner as to destroy the beauty of highly chaste women, is indescribable. They cried aloud shedding tears and, asking for water, fell down and died. They were made to lie down, their hands were bent and needles were thrust into their waist. The massacre was so cruel as to make persons

sudder, and tremble in everp corner. It rendered women with beautiful words destitute and dragged them to death to the intense suffering of the heart. They rolled and crawled on the breast of mother Earth and their life languished and disappeared. Bullets struck those that stood near, shattered them to pieces and brought about their death. The mutilated corpses were full of dreadful wounds. Pleasures and privileges which promote sanctity are gone. The time has come for the people to roll about, shed tears and rave with grief. The glory attaching to human birth is lost. Why should we toil like cattle? Is this just or proper? All of us have become a burden on earth being ever placed in a position worse than that of those who have earned the appellation of slaves. O Mother! You have made us the object of ridicule by others. Vouchsafe your grace soon.

--:--

Selections from GOS relating to civil disobedience movement (1930-35)
Proscribed literature:: Tamil Books (1934)

288

S.NO.76. EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O.NO. 1090, Public, Dated 27-10-'34.

--:--

34 213

"Suthanthiram" 1 (The youth Movement)

The cause for freedom of several countries from slavery is due to the chivalry of the youths. Many injustices done in the world occasionally were broken to pieces by the sharp sword called youths. It was youth which is called the victorious sword that cut down the unjust administration of the princes who deceived the poor and confined them with the lock of slavery. It will be seen from the histories of revolution which occurred in several countries how powerful that sword is.

The young men will plant the flag of victory in all their attempts. There is no defeat and they will not retract their legs. Many thousands of young men in France, Russia and countries sacrificed their lives for their national freedom, with the effect those countries have attained freedom today.

Ah! cannot India which contains 30 crores of men get such chivalrous lads? Is our country one which do not contain youths? What! did our mother Bharatha bring forth only old people? No, no there are many youths. But, in their feelings they live like old men who are not fit to be young. What a wonder is it! yea, British India brothers! Awake from your deep slumber. Look into other neighbouring countries, after having wiped out your naked eyes. Where is your Bharatha country? Lo, your mother Bharatha has been lying down being kicked and despised by a foreigner who bound her with the rope of slavery. Ah! what a pitiable state is?

You young men! You are wishing for temporary pleasures with folded hands when you look at your mother who conceived you, who brought you forth and who was responsible for your living today in the world has been bound and kicked? Are you hoping to live as cowards when you see your mother being crushed by another?

Are you keeping deaf when it is said that you are not fit and able to rule your country? What a shame it is!

Yea, young men! when did your youth go? Did you see what bold deeds have been done by young men like you in other countries ? Do wish to get freedom by doing such bold acts or do you request for slavish living? Do you wish to be singing the disgraceful chorus that your grandfather was a slave, that your father was a slave and that yourself were a slave.

Do not wish it, burn away the fearing devil which is living in you; wake up from your sleep.

Make yourself to be soldiers. Don't fear to die. Recently many thousands of people died in the earthquake. Every day so many thousands die of illness and poverty. Man is mortal. Yet, it is glory to die than to live as a slave. That is chivalry. You must hope to live for the country's good. Every breath must be for the country's good. Is there any pleasure better than to serve for the country? Man's living is not to eat and to sleep, It is worse than beasts living. Burn away the idle verses as what if Rama ruled or Ravanna ruled? Youths! hope to live as men. Get rid of the terms "high and low". Get rid of the religious disputes in Hindu, Muslim and christian which was purposely taught to us so that they might keep us under slavery and rule over us. Sing, as all the Indians are one caste and one sect.

Few centuries ago our Bharatha Country was famous in every respect but ever since the foreign administration stepped in, education, industry, cultivation etc, stunted and lost its glory. If our country is to come to the leval of other countries, the youth must labour for the growth of national education, industry, cultivation etc., and must brake away all parties and establishments which are obstacles to the advancement of our country.

(Distance between acts and reforms" as written by C.Subramania Bharathi).

The police who are inland watchmen though their pay is small are ready themselves to steal, being with the hope that the foreign rule cannot go on without their grace. Having made agreement with the dacoits, they are getting a share in the booty and thus they

36 215

pass on their time.

A peasant, therefore, adopts that thieving is better than any other mode of living.

He questions to himself as to why he should not rob the government money which are robbed from the people by means of several kinds of taxes such as "tax for bowing down, tax for lifting up, tax for standing, tax for sitting, land tax, water tax, tax for water plants road tax, forest tax, house tax, roof tax, loan tax lender tax, income tax, profession tax, toll-gate tax, rail tax, drainage tax, arrack shop tax, bull tax, sheep tax, dog tax, cat tax, export and import tax and several other kinds of taxes.

We the Bharata people having lost all our rights are slaves to white people who have come from somewhere. We are 30 crores of people. They are not even 2 lakhs. The whole would thinks that is a wonder which is not anywhere at any time. Owing to this the other nations of the world do not condider the Englishmen who rule us-30 crores of people - to be herores. But they hate and dispise us. Wherever an Indian goes he is dispised. Every one spits on us. The world think that Indians who are like sheep can be ruled by anyone not only by the English. Hence we are not fit to be proud. We can twist our moustache after we get swaraj. People will laugh if we now do vain glory.

Oh Lord Wellingdon! on your return from home, I thought you would have attained sound wisdom. But it is to be inferred from your acts that your intelligence has become more perverted than before. But you wisdom has made a somer sault within a week. What sort of ignorance and cruelty is it to break the hearts of true lovers and patriots!

In British India the ruling British Government "eats away the life-energy" of the people.

Many of the British officials pretended to be angry, and inflicted brutal punishments to some of our leaders.

Take British India. Look at the valour and patriotic services of the youths there. Ponder over the lives of Bhagat Singh and his comrades. Are they not the lion-cubs who came to render service to the motherland? Is not Jewaharlal Nehru who has sacrificed his all for the sake of the mother land, a warrior youth?

The Government got angry. It began to aim with a cruel arrow called "The Press Act". The cruel Press Act which was existing in British India, was not in force in Pondicherry.

--:--

38 217

217

"Suthanthiram" of October, 1934.

--:--

ARTICLE ON HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY - NECESSITY OF.

Ever since the advent of foreign rule, our country of Bharatha is deteriorating day by day. Famine, epidemics, and other cruel diseases, are killing thousands of persons every day. The children of our Bharatha Country which topped in wealth, have come to a stage of begging, unable to get monjee (minimum food). The spirit (Lifeblood) of the children of Bharatha have been sucked dry. The people are moving like walking corpses today in the country, with skin and bone and holding their life in their hands. What horror! Even after such a state has come, still, foreign rule has not left the country what to state of the manhood of the Government, who governs saying that we are not yet fit to govern our country.

What a pity it is to govern, after steeping one fifth of the world's population-the Indians-in ignorance and bringing them to a state of suffering for want of food!

If you consider whether the Engoish govern India with manliness or brute force, it will be clear that it is by brute force only. If we rise and see that 36 crores of people are controlled and governed by less than six crores of Englishmen, we get uncontrollable grief. It must also be noted, leaving apart the brute force, that they have enslaved us by the policy of 'divide and rule'.

Muslims were imigrants to India and were first foreigners only. But, the country did not have hardships or losses through them. They did not destroy the country's industries, the Inland and foreign trades. During the period of their reign, there was ~~natural~~ mutual love and unity. There was not one law for the white and another for the black during their reign.

Just as the moderates sell their country, for the sake of praise and titles, some of the muslims, seized with love of office and titles and positions, get converted as traitors to the country.

39

218

In the articles relating to the elections in French India, the following sentence appears,

There is no representative, solely, for merchants, to attack and break the unjust customs laws of the British, who make the French Indian merchants not to raise their heads.

<u>Letter to Moh.Solomiac.</u>

The British Indian Government govenn the masses by innumerable repressive laws, in their jurisdicti n. Similarly, they aim their cruel arrows, called laws, at the independent people who are in our democratic land. Our French India Government did not pay any attention to them and were indifferent. It is not right to do similarly in your administration also.

The British Government besiege our French India and hunt our independent people with the cruel arrow of their repressive laws.

--:--

Selections from G.O.s relating to civil disobedience movement
Proscribed literature: Tamil books (1935) (1930-35)

S.No.77. EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

219

G.O.NO. 111, Public dated 19-1-1935.

40

--:--

Mahtma Gandhi Yadigal Astotra Satamum Jeevia Charitra Sangrahamum

Non-Co-operation.

(Written statement of Mahatma Gandhi dated 18-3-1922 before the District Magistrate Ahmadabad).

I have taken all these efforts in the belief that by means of serving the Government in this manner, my countrymen will get full equality. But the first blow came in the shape of the Rowlatt Act which deprived the people of their true birth right. Then occurred the Pubjab Tragedy. Beginning with the Jalianwallah murder, it ended in humuliating ordinances such as whipping and forcing people to crawl etc., All hopes were shattered. The Pubjab tragedy was glossed over. Some who were guilty in that connection are retained in service even to-day instead of being punished, while some have been granted pensions out of India's revenues, while others have been rewarded.

He understood that the attitude of the Officials was not only not changed by the Reforms Act, but also that these reforms were helpful to drain India's revenues to the very bottom and to prolong the country's slavery. Finally he came away in disgust that India's political and economic state had become worse than before because of the British connection.

Upto 1919 he co-operated with Government. But as the crimes committed by the Government went beyond limits, he began the non-co-operation movement.

Non-co-operation is abstention from co-operation with whatever appears to us as evil (injurious). As the present system of Government ~~system of Government~~ is injurious to us, we refuse to co-operate with it.

On the 13th April people had assembled in Jallanwallabagh for the special Hindu festival. Among them were many women and children, who were all quiet. General Dyer came there with machine

41

220

guns and ordered to shoot the unarmed people even without a warning. Guns were fired until the cartridges were exhausted. People could not flee for they were surrounded by a huge fortress. 500 or 600 Hindus were killed and even more were wounded,

Martial law came into force every where. Bombs were fired on unarmed people from airships. Respectable and highly placed men were court-martialled; they were whipped; and forced to crawl on their bellies. They were made subject to greater humiliation and the guilty Dyer was rewarded. On the 18th April because Ahimsa was establ shed he stopped satyagraha.

Sword, gun, air ship, and Bombs are the weapons of the west. Gandiji's weapons in the orient are the charka, the spinning wheel, love, Ahimsa, Darma, (each of these is likened to a weapon of war). Truth is his ornament. Which of these will win has been known to the world through the many victories achieved by Gandhiji in the war of Satyagraha.

---:---

Selections from GOs relating to civil disobedience movement (1930-35)
Proscribed literature :: Tamil books (1935)

221

42

S.No.78. EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O.NO.999, Public dated 13-6-'35.

..:..

"Kudi Arasu Kalambakam, Part I"

It is stated by the publishers in the preface of the book that the book is a compilation of the editorial notes written by Mr.E.V.Ramaswami in the "Kudi Arasu" on various occassions and the speeches delivered by him at various conferences. It consists of ten chapters. A summary of chapters 1,2,7, and 9 is given below:--

Chapter 1.- Indian states.

If it is stated that the people of a country or the members of a community have no right either to remedy or alter the defects in the administration carried on for their benefit, how can such an administration be claimed to be a humanitarian administration? We have pointed our above that if any one behaves in such a manner as to create hatred against another unnecessarily and falsely, there is already a law for dealing with it. The attempt to enact at present a separate law (the Indian states protection bill), as if this law is not enough, is not only improper and tantamount to creating facilities for subjugating and ruling the people by means of repression, but cannot at all be described as just or as a good administrative policy.

We would boldly say that the nature of the administration in the majority of the Indian states in India is in many respects much worse than the administration in British India. To be plain, the administration in many Indian states is akin to the wild rule of a gang of robbers.

Many states do not at all have the feeling that they

43

are conducting the administration for the subjects and for the benefit of the subjects, nor is there any scope for such a feeling arising in them.

When we think of the integrity of the Ruler of every Indian State-that is, of the integrity of such Rulers as those of Indore and Alwar and Mr. "A", it will certainly be apparent that no life can be more disgraceful than that led by the people as subjects under their administration. Is no one aware of the fact that there are ever so manyx Rulers in our Indian states who appear to be the very embodiment of all the immoral traits in the world?

There is ample evidence to show that some of these rulers do not spend on the education of their subjects even one third or one-fourth of the amount which they spend on their wives or that they do not spend on the sanitation and medical aid for the subjects of their states even one half or one third of the amount which they spend on their motor cars.

The British Government very proudly describe (these States) as 'States under the suzerainty of the Emperor of India. But there is no room whatever to say that they have exercised that Suzerain power even in the least in respect of the conduct of the rulers of Indian states or of their standard of life or of the need for attending to the welfare of the subjects. It is not clear to us how it will be possible for a person, who has witnessed

the actions and the integrity and the system of administration of the majority of the rulers of Indian States, to refrain from exposing their condition or from making efforts to get rid of them. Of the 562 rulers of Indian states, some one or two may perhaps be 'honest persons' If on this account a law is to be enacted prohibiting any one from bringing into hatred the administration of 562 states, which are under the suzerainty of His Majesty the King-Emperor, it has to be ramarked that, of all the repressive laws of Lord Willingdon, this is indeed the foremost repressive law.

Generally speaking, if we calculate the difference between the ratio of the revenues of European Rulers to the amount taken by them for their own expenses and the ratio of the revenues of the rulers of Indian states to the amount taken by them for their own expenses and take into account other matters also, it will be quite clear whether a law is needed for protecting these states and their rulers or for changing or subverting them.

The world knows that the rulers of such integrity are ruining their respective states and carrying on an iniquitous and unjust administration, deeming the people of those states toxbe beasts.

It is our opinion that it is urgent and necessary that, before the British capitalistic administration and their Imperial arrogance disappear, this capitalistic administration in Indian states and their irresponsible,

tyrannical and immoral system of administration should perish and disappear altogether.

Chapter 2. Zamins and tenants.

As a result of our movement having stood forward and worked in the matter of explaining in a way to the masses the cruelties and frauds perpetrated by Brahmans, we have succeeded in getting rid of the Brahman domination to a certain extent. But before we could rejoice over the disappearance of the Brahman domination, the domination of zamindars, which is equally cruel and treacherous, has come forward to rear its head in its place and have a free play.

Those who are called zamindars are, like brahmans, not required by the world and are responsible for all the troubles of the people of the world.

Zamins were granted to zamindars as a 'reward' (a bribe) only for such acts of betrayal as providing the foreign Government with the necessary facilities when they originally came to this country and helping them to check and put down the opposition here. This indeed is the reason for these zamindars having attained this position and nothing else.

There is no need for me to tell you much about the integrity of these zamindars. Of all their rare qualities drinking, debauchery and gambling are the foremost.

We know that there is an (unwritten) law in force

that, if any girl attains puberty in the area within the limits of certain zamindars, they alone should have sexual intercourse with her in the first instance. Moreover we know that a system also obtains in certain places of deeming good girls and good oxen and horeses that are with the tenants of zamindars to be the sole property of these zamindars.

If the zamindars, who have not experienced any trouble, who do not know anything and who have no responsibility what ever, are to remain as a gang of robbers licensed by the government and seize and waste the wealth, which is comparable to the blood gathered drop by drop by ever so many poor cultivators and agricultural labourers working hard with their women and children from 8 to 15 haours a day and perspiring profusely, while the people agonise and their hearts burn, I request you to consider whether such a group should exist in the world and whether a people, who still tolerate their nature and domination, can be deemed to be a people with a sense of self-respect.

Chapter 4.- our aim.

Consider whether it is possible to tolerate a situation wherein the working people such as Pariahs, pallas, Kudumbans and Sambans, having no means of livelihood have/to leave the country, go to another country and work in a more dispicable manner than even a dog or an ass, while the idlers, who do no work, take food in a choultry where food is given gratis and read in a sanskrit college, while the mirasidars enjoy every day moonlight feast, dance, musical performance and sports with women in water

47 226

Chapter 7.- Communism

If we consider to whom it (the communist principle) is likely to be hostile, objectionable and injurious, we will find that it is likely to be objectionable only to the selfish persons called the Emperor, King missionary priest, capitalist, zamindar, mirasidar and member of a higher caste (Brahman) as well as to those who are leading a higher standard of life, without bodily exertion solely by reason of their being the hirelings of the aforesaid persons. But we need not mind the objections of such persons.

Realising well the cruelties perpetrated by zemindars, capotalists and others and the unjust manner in which they are augmenting their wealth, we are indeed making efforts to put an end to their cruelties and save the people from their iniquities. Lastly, wise men are indeed aware of the integrity and actions of the group of persons known as priests and missionaries and the cruelties experienced by the people on account of them. The group of persons known as priests, missionaries, Mullahs and probits are only the licensed hirelings of kings, wealthy persons and those who love to lead a life of indolence.

Chapter 9.- The glory of machinery.

Propaganda is being carried on about the greatness of God and the excellence of the life in Heaven about without pointing out to the labourers of our country the iniquities perpetrated by capitalists. But the American labourers deemed God and heavenly life to be worthless and, having been taught the socialist and

and communist prinoiple that all things and all pleasures are common to all people and should be enjoyed equally by them, they adopted it and attained victory.

--:--

Selections from GOs relating to civil disobedience movement Proscribed literature: Tamil books (1935) (1930-35)

S.No.79. EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O.NO. 1174, Public dated 17-7-'35.

--:--

228 226 49

"Savarkar Jiviya Charitram"

This book is written by R.Srinivasa Varadam. It deals briefly with the parentage, early life, education and activities of Vinayaka Damodar Savarkar. In the preface of the book, which purports to be more or less an adaptation of the English book said to have been written by Mr.Chitragupta, it is pointed out that Savarkar attained eminence even at an early agem that his biography should be in the hands of every youth and that one should practise his high ideals in actual life without merely reading his biography. It is stated that Savarkar wrote several national songs in his college days and that these were proscribed by the Government. The book gives an account of Savarkar's revolutionary activities as well as those of the sikhs in the Punjab and makes a passing reference to the political crimes committed in Lahore and Burma in 1914. The latter half of the book is devoted to a description of the troubles experienced by Savarkar in England.

Several are the histories of countries in Europe and America which were enslaved to foreigners and secured independence. The method whereby they secured independence is indeed more or less the same. Its characteristic is to mobilise brute force secretly and use it very severely for driving away the foreigners, who, with the help of brute force, rule the people keeping them in subjection.

Our Bharata country too is enslaved to-day. There is no limit at all to the misery suffered by it at present Nevertheless, the method adopted by other countries is repugnant to its nature. However, it has not refrained from adopting cruel methods to some extent like other countries. But ever since Mahatma Gandhi assumed the leadership in our struggle for political advance, it became clear that the very method of the

attainment of independence by our country is different.

(In 1897) Plague had spread in Poona. Several English officials who were responsible for despotic administration were murdered at that time. These murders were committed when the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria was being celebrated in the other parts of India.

At that time, people were arrested and sentenced. Tilak was arrested. The Sevak brothers were hanged. The Nattu brothers were deported, Alas Pity! Should the Indians suffer like this?

Then our Vinayakar workshipped at the feet of Goddess Durga worshipped by him and began to express his idea as follows: I have dedicated my life solely with th idea of spending it in such ways as to enable my motherland, this Bharata land, this country of India which is enslaved under English rule, to attain independence, India should free herself from her enslaved condition and secure independence. She should remove the shackles which bind her and attain independence. I will kindle the Indian youths with this torch of my idea. I will form secret associations and labour hard for the attainment of independence, which is the goal of my motherland. Mother! You too should vouchsafe your grace in order that the Indians may attain independence. Mother! I, Your devotee, fall at your feet.

Like being caught between the devil and the deep

sea, the people were caught between the plague and the police tigers and they experienced other troubles as well. Death entered every house and caught the people in its mouth. The police shadowed several people like the fire which burns the dead after their death. Alas What a pity! This trouble too occurred in India. Are not the miseries in our Bharata land enough?

He (Savarkar) collected all foreign clothes, heaped them in a place like a mountain and burnt them. Tilak at first objected to this proposal on the ground that it was not practicable. But in view of the effort made by Savarkar and the desire of the people, he too joined Savarkar and rendered the necessary help.

Within a year of his arrival in England, Savarkar explained clearly to many Indian youths that peaceful agitation was useless and established a society known as the Free Indian Society.

Pandit Shamji too not only declared openly that he had joined the agitators but also entrusted the association known as the 'India House' to Savarkar. Many dedicated their bodies to this. Of these Lala Haridayal was one. He had come to England for the Indian Civil Service Examination. He spurned the scholarship given to him by the Government, took a vow that he would sacrifice even his life for the liberation of the country, was deported by the Government of India from that day, suffered in America, Germany and Turkey and is at present remaining in Sweeden and labouring hard for the liberation of the Indians. The

second of them is the virtuous person known as chattopadhyaya, the beloved brother of Mr.Sarojini Devi, who dedicated his bodym wealth and soul -all these three - to the country, who was deported from the country and who is spending his days in Germany and other European countries enduring many troubles. Mr.V.V.S.Ayyar was another. He was born in our South India. He had gone to England for passing the law examination. He experienced many difficulties, was shadowed by the secret Police, lived in Pondicherry for 10 years and came out in 1920. At last he established the 'Tamil Gurukulam' and when he was conducting it, he lost his life by falling into the Papanasam waterfall while attempting to bring his dear daughter to the bank. Several more persons of this type had gathered there.

Spurning the honour and gain that will result from his education, a member of the Abhinava Bharati Society announced that he would go to Russia and come back after learning the method of making bombs. He started for Paris the same week taking with him a Mahratta youth and a youth from Madras. After much difficulty, he met a Russian warrior at Paris and returned after securing from him a book teaching the method of making bombs. He then cyclostyled it, prepared several copies of it and made arrangements for distributing it all over India. A long time thereafter when the Government instituted a search, copies of it were found in Calcutta, Allahabad, Lahore and Nasik. It is quite clear from this how far the activity of the Abhinava Bharata society has spread.

In 1907, Englishmen desired to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the "Sepoy Mutiny" on a grand scale. Englishmen directed all their efforts to attackint the heroes of independence who were called mutineers, vilifying them as they liked and insulting the Indians through dramas, lectures and newspapers. He (Savarkar) conducted a big meeting for checking such foodish propaganda, for demonstrating the real nature of the national war known as the Sepoy Mutiny and forhonouring heroes who made rare and great sacrifices like Nana Sahib, Dattiyatope, the Queen of Jhansi, Kumarasimhan and Moulvi Ahmed Shah, observed a fast and prepared pamphlets about the work of the martyrs and saw to it that they were distributed in India and England.

He (Savarkar) worked much for bringing togethar the revolutionaries in countries like Ireland, Egypt, China, India and Turkey, which were hostile to England simultaneously. It was only because he worked like this that, when a treaty of peace was concluded after the termination of the European War, the Kaiser and the Americans demanded that it should include a provision for the grant of swaraj to India.

A Sikh member of the Abhinava Bharata society told him (Savarkar) as follows:-- However much you may try, you cannot separate the Sikhs from the Government. You cannot separate from the Government the sikhs, who act according to the saying that one should feel grateful to one's benefactor as long as life lasts, though you may strive for many years. Immediately, Savarkar looked at him

and replied: Friend, you too are a Sikh. Just as I made you join this, even so I will make them join it in course of time. If we work among them for five years like this, we can make them the chief enemies of the Government. So, let us work without getting discouraged.

In order that the other Indians may realise well the greatness of the Sikhs, he (Savarkar) wrote in Marathi a book entitled 'The national history of the Sikhs' and published it. But that too fell a prey to the cruelty of the government.

In it (the Marathi publication brought out by him) he (Savarkar) described how the people of other countries strove for the attainment of independence and explained so as to impress clearly upon the people that it was impossible to attain independence without war and sacrifice.

Our mother, Goddess Bharata, is in the position of the elephant which was caught in the mouth of the crocodile in days of old. She is caught in the mouth of the slave, crocodile, and is suffering, being in distress. She makes obeisance to Sri Hari for his mercy for securing liberation.

The Government of India began to harass the friends and relations of Savarkar. They removed his father-in-law who was a Charwari in the Hawar State, from service. They arrested his relations, removed them from service, followed them wherever they went and watched their activities and began to commit several other unjust acts. As a result of a bomb having fallen upon Lord Minto, they suspected the brotherof Savarkar, who was 17 years old, and began to

55 234 934

to harass him in various ways.

If at any time the government in any way try to prevent us from giving an unvarnished account of the unjust acts committed by them, then we will do everything only secretly and take steps to rout them in war soon. What they do is highly unjust. We will prevent the injustice perpetrated by them by our strength and determination and succeed. The unjust acts committed by them have gone beyond limit. So, freedom cannot be secured by peaceful methods. As for the government, they are ruling India with the help of the gun. In these circumstances, it is highly absurd to talk of peaceful methods. It is indeed a vain talk.

The injustice perpetrated in India, the news of the incarceration of many patriots without trial and their deportation and the trouble experienced by his friends as well at the hands of the Police began to afflict his (Savarkar's) mind every minute. He regretted that it so happened that he had to remain in Paris comfortably while they were suffering so much and was considering frequently whether he should also go to India and join them or remain here (in Paris) and carry on the work begun by him.

What is the present condition of our Mother, our great Mother, who has our love and affection? Our eyes will grow dim with tears when we think that she has lost her position and become enslaved, that her hip is broken and all her bones have been crushed and that she has become lean and emaciated and is dying. Our breath will stop when we consider the reasons for this. Our breath

56 235 935

will throb with anger when we consider the suitable means of liberating her who is dying on account of incessant troubles. Ultimately, all of us in whom youthful blood boils took the vow that we would surely liberate the mother.

The Whole of our motherland, which extends from the Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, became enraged and rose furiously roaring like a lion. The garments of a beggar on its body were torn and flew away in pieces. Our mother has appeared to day with a heroic face sword in hand. Sri Ramachandra has hoisted his standard. Devotees have come forward in thousands to bear it and stand in battle array. The fire is burning very brightly in the sacrificial pit.

O devout people who have taken the terrible vow to come out successfully in this sacrifice! The time of trial when you have to demonstrate your determination has come. The sacrifice has now commenced in order that the whole world may secure happiness. The fire burns sending forth tongues of flame as though it is ready to sonsume everything. Ghee must be poured over it. Those that are ready to do so may come forward.

The sacrifice has been commenced now in order that our beloved Mother may secure liberation. The fire too has been tended. It is rising high ferociously throwing our tongues of flame. We have consigned to it all our self-interest, burnt it and reduced it to ashes. Our word has been kept. We have attained our object.

57 236

I have dedicated my house, wealth and fame-all these-to you alone. O Mother I sacrifice for your sake even my elder brother's wife who is helpless and is undergoing extreme suffering in solitude. I renounce for your sake even my dear wife who attained age only recently. I have sacrificed on your altar my elder brogher, who had an undaunted mind and was highly courageous and yet was more tender-hearted than even a child and had unbounded sympathy.

My younger brogher, a child who is very young, who is the embodiment of love and whom I love dearly, is being sacrificed to you. I too have now been tied to the sacrificial post. O mother I will sacrifice to you not only these, but also seven more persons if they should exist.

The government of India refused to surrender Savarkar. The other countries developed aversion for the English Government, who proclaim that they gave room for Mazzini, Garibaldi and others and that they are striving for liberation. The European countries, America and other countries strongly condemned this.

--:---

Selections from GOs relating to civil disobedience movement (1930-35) Proscribed literature :: Tamil books (1936)

937

S.No. 80.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O.NO. 250, Confidential Dated 1-2-'36.

237

58

--:--

'Desabakti or Triumph of Shivaji'.

The above is the title of this book as printed on its wrapper, while the title given on the inner title-page is 'Desabakti alladu Sakotara Droham', which means 'Patriotism or Fraternal Perfidy'. The book is printed at the B.N.Press, Educational printers, Madras. It is a drama written by Mr.S.M. Satchidanandam Pillai, the proprietor of the Madura Original Boys Company, and revised by Mr.T.A.Subrahmanya Bharati. It begins with a preface by the author, wherein he states that the object of the drama is to effect social reform and that it treats of several incidents tending to promote such good characteristics as patriotism, loyalty, social unity and benevolence.

The plot of the drama begins with a conspiracy hatched by Prince Ranjit Singh, the Viceroy of the Chandragiri State, to overthrow his own brother, Pratap Singh, the King, and to pur an end to his life as well as that of his wife who was at the time pregnant. The conspirator at first succeeded in accusing the King's wife, Sarojini by name, of infidelity to her husband and getting her incarcerated. She gave birth to a male child in prison. Indrani, her elder daughter, while defending her mother's conduct, was also imprisoned under the orders of the King. She was later saved by

238 59 238

Shivaji, the Prince of a neighbouring kingdom, whose Ruler was also dethroned by an usurper under similar circumstances. After various tribulations and hardships experienced by both the rulers and the members of their families at the hands of the usurpers, the truth came to light and both the rulers were restored to their throne.

The following passages or sentiments appear in some of the scenes, to which exception may be taken:-

Scene1. One of the characters in this scene observes: 'Friends! You are not unaware of the fact that, though a government may be an excellent one, it cannot equal self-government'.

Scene 9. The administration of several local bodies has become more and more disgraceful. The people have not realised properly the value of the franchise. They sell away their rights either on account of their obligation to the candidates or the fuss made by them or for money. At the time of election the candidates conduct themselves in a reprehensible manner, delude the people and secure seats in local bodies. Then they spend thousands of rupees and secure the Presidentship. Soon after they secure this office, they without rendering public service, strive in several ways to promote their own interests, plunder public funds and create factions in the country'.

Scene 10. In a dialogue between two ryots of

Chandragiri regarding their inability to pay the kist due to the state, one of them suggests that, if the authorities do not effect any reduction in the amount of kist to be paid, they should all join together and decide not to cultivate the land, while the other suggests that, if all of them plead their inability to pay the kist, the authorities cannot do anything in the matter.

Scene 11. While asked to tender an apology and quit at the risk of forfeiting his title and post and of being deported,-- Shivaji, the hero, says: 'Am I to ask for pardon? Fine! Of what avail are the titles and posts conferred by this State when there is a miscarriage of justice? Whoever wants a title which is worth nothing? I know this title is nothing but an empty one. Here is the title and the post conferred on me. The title of slavery is not required by a lover of freedom. I am not for holding any office hereafter under this government which is an unrighteous one. I am born of a pure Indian. I will do my utmost to overthrow your despotic rule!

Scene 17. This scene describes a meeting of the House of Lords held at Indrapuri, an Indian State, which was attended by the President, the Diwan and other Lords, wherein several questions were asked by the members and replies were given on behalf of the Government. Some of these interpellations and answers are as follow:--

<u>Member</u> (Question). Is it a fact that a political

prisoner is suffering from dysentery for want of supply of milk to him and is in death-bed?

Divan (Answer). I shall call for particulars.

Q. When are the particulars to be calledx for and when is the reply to be expected?

A. The reply can be expected in a week.

Q. Will the Government direct half-anna worth of milk being supplied to the prisoner, who is in death-bed? and thereby save his life?

A. The Government will appoint a committee as soon as possible to find out whether the prisoner needs milk and the decision of the committee will be forwarded to the Medical Department.

Q. Oh what an expedit-ious arrangement! When a prisoner is said to be struggling for life, the Divan says that he will first call for particulars, then constitute a committee and thereafter communicate its decision to the Medical Department. By this time the prisioner will have been dead.? Excellent! The Diwan Peshkar's benevolence is commendable indeed!

A. What is to be done? The law is such.

Q. For supplying half anna worth of milk every day should the decision of a committee be sought at a cost of thousands of rupees? Being unable to pay the kist, the people are selling their tali and paying the same. When asked to constitute a committee for enquiring into this matter, you said you could not do so. Fine administration!

24 62

President. The last portion should be withdrawn.

Q. Mr.President! The council and yourself should understand very well the attitude of the Diwan. In reply to any questions put to him regarding the provision of facilities ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ for the people, the Diwan gives evasive replies such as, 'I am not aware; no information; notice; no; particulars will be called for; the matter will be considered; a committee will be constituted; Is it not treacherous on the part of one who holds a responsible office to give such replies?

Divan. The financial position of the Government is growing worse eavery year. If the Government should overcome this crisis, not only should the land-tax be enhanced by 50 percent, but higher duty should also be levied on indigenous articles besides a reduction of excise duty forthwith.

1st Member. The Diwan has not cared in the least for the welfare of the country and its people. While the productes do not find a sale and while it is very hard to sell a kalam of paddy even for a rupee, it will be unjust to levy a higher tax on the people.

2nd Member. There is already tax on the land, tax on industries and tax on indigenous articles. If enhanced tax is levied, indigenous industry will meet with ruin. It is said that drink alone should be encouraged. Excellent suggestions!

3rd Member. The military expenditure is enormous. Let us reduce it a little. Further, tens of thousands of rupees are given to the King every month for his

expenditure. In addition to this, a large amount is paid to him in the shape of travelling allowance even when he goes out on his own business. If these items of expenditure are reduced by 50 per cent, every thing will be all right.

Diwan. I remind the council that no member has any right to interfere with the privileges of the King.

3rd Member. Why? The King is incurring unnecessary expenditure. Nobody can deny that there is a loud complaint in the country about the improper expenditure of the King and that a feeling of hatred is engendered in the minds of the people thereby.

Diwan. Mr. President! Please put the motion to vote.

3rd Member. As there are some gentlement on your side, who simply nod their heads, you should not with their support perpetrate acts which are treacherous to the people. I request you to abide by justice.

Jaya Singh (King). Those that prove treacherous to the king may quit the council.

1st Member. This is authcracy. If you are going to act as you please, what for is this puppet Council? It is useless for us to be sitting here without any purpose. Here, we are leaving. Down with autocracy.

Scene 23.

Prime Minister. It is understood that the moderates held a meeting last night at which they secretly resolved to co-operate with the Opposition regarding the motion for the enhancement of tax carried by us autocratically and to carry on a propaganda of hatred towards us. We

must adopte some remedial measures at once.

Jaya Singh. Mr.Prime Minister! If some reforms are effected in the interests of the State, it is but natural in every country for public opposition to be in evidence. The wise course for us to adopt is indeed to manage the situation artfully and firmly, assuming the role of a Dictator. What can public opposition do when we have the strength of the army on our side? You need not be anxious. I shall manage everything.

Jaya Singh. (Addressing Shivaji, the hero, who was brought before him for trial) - Shivaji! you have been deported by the King of Chandragiri. Is it not an offence on your part to have entered this state without my permission?

Shivaji. Oh! Oh! Is this an offence, Sir, Is the iniquitous Deportation Ordiance in force in this state as well?

As the matter to which exception may be taken has been reproduced in the detailed account of the book given above, no translation of specific passages therein is furnished separately.

Selections from GOs relating to civil disobedience movement (1930-35)
Proscribed literature :: Tamil Books (1936)

S.No.81. EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

244

G.O.NO. 431, Public dated 27-2-1936.

--:--

"Pudumai Pakkal". 64 244

The book contains ten poems composed by Mr.Raya Chockalingam. The poems deal with a variety of subjects. In the first three poems, which are strongly nationalistic in outlook, the author laments the 'deplorable' condition of the Indians in the social, political and economic spheres, and longs to see a happy world and an independant India free from slavery, poverty, illiteracy and communal and social differences. He exhorts the people to despise offices and titles, boycott foreign goods, encourage Khaddar, strive for independence without caring for repressive measures or lathi blows and sacrifice even their lives for securing liberation. He further asserts that nobody can prevent the Indians from ruling their country and that not even the machine gun can curbe their spirit. Of the remaining poems, some refer to the ancient greatness of India and the innumerable heroes she has given birth to, while some others are purely literary pieces on widow marriage and the sweetness and elegance of the Tamil language.

When will the fetters of the Mother, who rulled the world in the past with undiminished glory, be shattered?

When will our gracious Mother sit on the throne, wearing the crown and occupying a status of equality with the other nations in the world?

When will all the idiots, who do not know what is good and who kiss the very feet of the utterly ignorant official which kicked them gain good sense?

When will the practice of beating the volunteers with a lathi in the hand in such a manner as to frigten those that witness the sight cease?

When will the mean practice of pouring the stinking drain water on the volunteers so as to obstruct breathing through their nostrils and thereby suffocate them cease?

Beat the drum saying: There is no poor person or

coward. Beat the drum saying: India has awakened. Beat the drum saying there is no slavish life on earth.

Beath the drum saying we will ruel our country. Beat the drum saying we will not lead a disgraceful life. Beat the drum saying we will sacrifice even our lives for the sake of liberation. Beat the drum saying: we will certainly secure liberation.

Beat the drum saying death is sure to occur one day or other. Beat the drum saying we will achieve victory. It is quite certain.

Beat the drum saying we will not be afraid of cruel laws. Beat the drum saying we will not be afraid of lathis and blows.

Beat the drum saying we will not be afraid of the machine-gun. Beat the drum saying cunning words will not avail hereafter.

Beat the drum saying we will destroy anything that hampers our rights. Beat the drum saying we will not have a life devoid of rights.

Beat the drum saying titles and offices are highly illusory. Beat the drum saying give up and be rid of vain titles.

Beat the drum saying may khaddar prosper and other varities disappear.

Who can prevent us from ruling our country? Can they prosper after allowing us to rule their country?

We would give up even our sweet lives for the liberation of our country. We would indeed deem it a privilege to give up our lives to get rid of the disgrace

to which our mother is subjected.

No one has any right to deprive us of our rights. We would no longer remain reduced in circumstances and lead a life of slavery. This is certain.

The right of ruling India belongs only to the Indian. Say whoever can contradict this in any country.

Is it wrong on our part even to prevent our people from buying the goods of foreigners that improverish our country?

The time is dead and gone when we were afraid of the cruel jail. Are they men who preserve their lives being afraid of cutting asunder the fetters of the goods Mother?

What harm can the machine gun do to our feeling? If the body is burnt, we are sure to become great in another body.

Selections from GOs relating to civil disobedience movement (1930-3?)
Proscribed literature:: Tamil books (1936)

83. EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O. NO. 398, Public, Dated 20-2-1936. 247 67 247

"Nannilam Taluka Desiya/Valipar Mahanadu Upacaranai Kamitti Talaivar Varaverppu Pirasangam!

This booklet, which is printed at the Sri Gamber Vinayagar Press, Kuttalam, reproduces the address delivered by Mr. N.Rangaswami Reddiyar of Kuttalam, Chairman of the Reception Committee, at the Nannilam Taluk National Youths Conference held at Koradacheri on the 15th September 1935. The address contains the following observations among others:- Friends! Not inconsiderable were the hardships suffered by thousands of tender youths, who, for several years, have been experiencing several indescribable miseries and troubles under foreign rule by making various sacrifices for the liberation of our Bharata land without attaching any importance to their body, wealth and soul, becoming victims to the repressive measures of the Government, entering jails, receiving lathi blows at the hands of the Police and renouncing their wives and children. Alas! Alas! Who can deny the fact that tens of thousands of youths came forward during the last satyagraha war and rendered national service? Our Bharata war has not yet come to an end. * * * The flame of independence, which is burning brightly among the people in our country, cannot be put down by anybody hereafter, This country will certainly attain independence. Whoso ver may be an obstacle to this country attaining independence, however wealthy or however influential he may be, would do well to realise that he will be detested by the public. It is a historical truth that it is only on account of a few self-seeking traitors to the country that out country is devoid of independence and is under foreign rule to-day. Such persons do exist even at present. The flame of independence should burn brightly in the hearts of thousands of youths in the country. Their hearts should throb and their blood should boil at the very mention of the word 'country'. 'We have realised that the country we live in is ours. We have realised that it is indeed ours by right': so said Bharati, the national poet. We should prove the truth of these world. We should take physical exercise in the interests of our health. Everybody

should receive training in the use of weapons. Manliness is required, sacrifice is required and the grace of Parasakti, the Mother, is required. The hearts of heroic youths should throb for the purpose of shattering the shackles of Mother Bharata. Youths! Look at the histories of other countries in the world! Read the biographies of the heroes of our country. This country is one which adores heroes. It is but proper that the Tamils should worship heroes. We should do so. In these days, to adore and praise national heroes is considered seditious. * * * The history of every country teaches a lesson to us and it is indeed this, namely, that it is only the sacrifice made by its youths that is essential for the emancipation of the country from autocracy. This is highly indispensable for our country. For the most part, all other countries fought only against the autocratic system prevalent in those countries. But the onerous responsibility of fighting against the bureaucrats of Britain, which is one of the very strong Powers of the world, and the reactionary, self-seeking Indian hermaphrodites, who are their henchmen, rests upon us, the Indian nationalist youths. The attainment of freedom by our country and its shining with independence with other independent countries in the world on terms of perfect equality depends only upon how and how soon all of us, youths, willingly come forward and discharge this responsibility. We, youths, whose responsibility it is to bring our country to the very eminent position mentioned above, should, animated by lofty ideals, develop among ourselves the capacity of discharging without any vacillation our sacred duty to Mother Bharata, displaying still the same heroism displayed by us so far, although we may have to face even death, work incessantly and with enthusiasm and carry out with great enthusiasm the constructive programme of the Congress, which is our national institution, and be prepared for sacrificing our lives in the matter of removing the shackles of Mother Bharata as soon as we receive the mandate of the great Congress organisation, which is the National Parliament. We should adopt the vow of purchasing only swadeshi goods. For, the very reason that they lack the

69

support of the Government should makes us lend support doubly to these industries. In all countries including England, industries are enjoying the support of the state. Protective duties are levied to save them from foreign competition. In our country, however, our industries have been left in the lurch. So, we should encourage and develop swadeshi industries.

70

250

EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO ______________

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

Abstract of the GO.

(Disturbances - Total casuality - Madras Presidency - from 1925 to 1930 - Detailed statement of figures).

REFERENCE: G.O.No.935 (Ordinary) dated 10.9.1931, Public (General Department.

- - -

In 1931 the Government of Madras asked the Inspector General of Police and the Commissioner of Police to state the total number of casualities both in the Madras the rest of the Presidency, among the public and the Police respectively resulting from disturbances of all kinds (communal, political, industrial etc.,) during the years 1925 to 1930. The information was required to enable the secretary of State for India to answer certain questions in the House of Commons. The following statutic was furnished on the same subject.

Year	Madras	Mofussil	Casualities among the public	Casualities among the Police
1925	--	--	23	nil
1926	--	--	21	nil
1927	--	--	27	nil
1928	1	--	34	nil
1929	--	--	28	1
1930	3	--	42	nil

* * * *

71 951

EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

Abstract of the GO.

(PARLIAMENTARY QUESTION - Disturbances in Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta between 1925-30 - No. of lives lost and Police killed Papers recorded).

REFERENCE: G.O.No.458 (Ordinary) dated 28-4-1931., ~~dated~~ Public (General) Department.

- - - -

Question No.10, dated 30th March 1931.

Mr.Charles Williams - To ask the Secretary of State for India if he will state the total number of lives lost and the number of police killed respectively, in disturbances of all kinds in the provinces of Madras and Bombay during the years 1925,1926,1927,1928,1929, and 1930.

Question No.11, dated 30th March 1931.

Mr. Charles Williams - To ask the Secretary of State for India, if he will state the total number of lives lost in disturbances of all kinds in Calcutta during the years, 1925, 1926,1927,1928,1929, and 1930, respectively.

Answer to Mr. Charles Williams' Question Nos.10 and 11 dated 30th March 1931.

(Answered by the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies)

- - -

I will answer this question together with No.11. It is regretted that such statistics are not available, but if the honourable Member so desires the Government of India will be asked to enquire from the Local Governments in question whether the figures could be compiled without undue labour.

Supplementary Question.

Mr.Williams: Will the Hon.Member ask the Secretary of State to obtain these figures?

Dr.Shiels: I will convey the hon.Member's request to my right hon.Friend.

- - - -

72 252

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement 1930 to 1935

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

(Proscribed literature 193-)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

("SONGs on the iniquitous act of hanging the three sons of Bharata Matha" - Objectionable - forfeited.

REFERENCE:-G.O.No. 64(Confidential) dated 12-1-1932, Public Dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a book in tamil entitled "Songs on the iniquitous act of hanging the three sons of Bharata Matha".

---

13 253

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement 1930 & 1935

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O. (Proscribed Literature 193[illegible]

("Sardar Bhagat Singh" - Tamil book - forfeited.)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No. 286(Confidential)dated ~~1922~~-1932, Public dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a book in tamil entitled "Sardar Bhagat singh."

EXTRACTS FROM ~~XXXX~~ THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement (1930 to 1935)

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. (Proscribed literature

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Tamil Book - forfeited - declared- Government of Madras)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No. 291(Confidential)dated 22-2-1932, Public Dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a book in Tamil book entitled "The Cawnpore riot or pratap Sunkara" written by M.S.Subramaniayh.

75

255

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement 1930 & 1935

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. (Proscribed literature 193[illegible]

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Tamil Book - forfeited - declared)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.430(Confidential)dated 14-3-1932, Public Dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a book in tamil entitled "Madhu Vilakku prachara Desiya Geethamrutham" written by K.R.Baladas.

EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO

in the Madras Presidency.

Abstract of the G.O.

("Mahatma Gandhiji's Satmeega Samarasa vetri" - Tamil Book - Forfeiture - Ordered)

REFERENCE: G.O.No.443 (Confidential) dated 17-3-1932:Public (General) Department.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited all copies of the Tamil Book entitled "Mahatma Gandhi's satmeega samarasa vetri" ~~writted~~ written by V.A.Thiagaraja Chettiar.

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

(1930 to 1935)

(Proscribed literature 193…)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Gandhi Path" - tamil book - Forfeited)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No. 490(Confidential)dated 1-4-1932, Public dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a book in tamil entitled "Gandhi Path" Part I written by V.A.Thiyagarajan.

78

258

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement

(1930 & 1935)

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

(Proscribed Literature 193

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Tamil Book - forfeited - declared)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No. 491(Confidential)dated 1-4-1932, Public dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a book in tamil entitled "Bahadur Bhagat Singh Pattu" written by V.Nataraja Pillai of Madura.

---

79 259

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

(1930 to 1935)

(Proscribed literature (1)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Tamil book - forfeited - declared.)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No. 520(Confidential)dated 5-4-1932, Public dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a book in tamil entitled "Sardar Bhagat Singh Charitram".

260

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement (1930 to 1935)

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. (Proscribed Literature 19…

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Tamil Book - forfeited - declared)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.531(Confidential)dated 6-4-1932, Public (Gen.) dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a book in tamil entitled "Desiya Geethangal Part II" by Mangaldas.

--

981 261

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement 1930 to 1935

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. (Proscribed Literature 1932)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Tamil Book - forfeited - declared)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.656(Confidential)dated 9-5-1932, Public Dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a tamil book entitled "Ananda Khadder Pattu Part II" written by V.A.Thiyagaraja chettiyar.

----

82 262

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. 1930 to 1935

(Proscribed literature 1932)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Tamil Book - forfeited - declared.)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.540(Confidential)dated 8-4-1932, Public (Gen.) Dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a book in tamil entitled "Bhagat Singh or the Roar on the scaffold written by T.S.Kanakasabhai.

---

63 263

EXTRACT FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

1930 to 1935

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Destruction of parcels - from Jaffna - detained by the custom - Ordered)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No. 692(Confidential)dated16-5-1932, Public Dept.

The Government of Madras ordered the destruction of the parcels from Jaffna containing unauthorised newssheets, which were detained by the custom authorities at Dhanushkodi.

864

264

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

1930 to 1935

(Proscribed literature 1932)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Unauthorised Objectionable Newssheets - detained by the custom - Ordered.)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.693(Confidential)dated 16-5-1932,Public Dept.

The Government of Madras ordered the destruction of the parcels from Jaffna containing unauthorised objectionable newsheets which were detained by the custom authorities at Dhanushkoti. The leaflets were sent in the parcels which were declared to contain religious literature. The Government of ceylon was requested to take action against one named T.N.Subbiah who was responsible for sending them to a number of places in the southern districts of the presidency.

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement 1930 to 1935.

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

(Proscribed literature 19…)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

("Desiya Geethangal" - tamil book - forfeited.)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.804(Confidential)dated 30-5-1932, Public Dpet.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a book in tamil entitled "Desiya Geethangal" by T.K.Durairajan.

---

86 266

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement 1930 & 1935 IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

(Proscribed literature)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

("Deesiya Geetham" - Tamil book - forfeited.)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.835(Confidential)dated 4-6-1932, Public Dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a book in tamil entitled "Deesiya Geetham" compared by S.S.Viswanathan.

----

067 967

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO civil disobedience movement (1930-35)
Proscribed literature (1931)

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act 1931 - Proscribed pictures 13 and certain others of the nature described in section 4(1) - Imported from Ceylon into British India by post - Detained at Dhanushkodi - Destruction ordered.

REFERENCE:-G.O.No. 876(Con) dated 15-6-1932, Public (Gen)Dept.

Public (Gen) Dept.

Letter No. 16694-2 dated 15-6-1932.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department.
(with copy of list at (k)

Sir,

Objectionable pictures - Importation into British India from Ceylon.

I am directed to report the following facts for the information of the Government of India.

In the course of examination of post parcels received rom ceylon at Dhanushkodi Post Office on 21-5-1932 by the Postal ~~Office~~ Appraiser, a parcel sent by one R.M.T.R. Dharmalingam Aninganuwa Road, Gampola, Ceylon to the address of one Vellachami Suraiyur Muraiyur Post, Ramnad District, ~~Ma~~ and declared to contain Swami Picutres and blotting paper was found to contain 13 objectionable picutres of congress leaders and revolutionaries which were suspected to fall uunder section 4 (1) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931, as amended by section 63 of the Emergency Powers Ordinance, II of 1932 and th Amending Ordinance VII of 1932. A description of the pcitures is given in the appended list. The parcel was detained and forwarded to this Government under section 20 of the Act. Two of the pictures Nos. 12 and 13 in the list had been proscribed by the Governments of Bengal and United Province under section 99A of the Criminal Procedure Code and the Copies will be destroye by this Government. The others also will be destroyed under sec.20 of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers)Act 1931,. in as much

as they are contain matter of the nature described in Section 4(1) of the Act as amended by Sectiond 63 of the Emergency Powers Ordinance 1932, and the Amending Ordinance 1932. The Ceylon Government have been informed about the consignor.

- - -

89. 269

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement 1930 to 1935

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. (Proscribed literature 193

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(tamil book - forfeited - declared)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.995(Confidential)dated 19-7-1932, Public (Gen) Dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a book in tamil entitled "Gandhi Adigal Viruppam Niraiveruma"

----

90 270

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement 1930 to 1935

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O. (Proscribed literature 1932

("Congress Keerthanai" - tamil book - forfeited)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.1005(Confidential)dated 21-7-1932, Public (Gen) Department.

The Govermment of Madras declared forfeited a book in tamil entitled "Congress Keerthania" written by K.V.Meenakshi - sundaram Pillai.

---

91 271

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. 1930 to 1935

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O. (Proscribed literature 19

(Tamil book - forfeited - declared.)

REFERENCE:-G.O.NO.1040(Confidential)dated 28-7-1932, Public (Gen.) Dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a book in tamil entitled "Deesiya Geetha Thirattu part II"

----

92 272

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement 1930 to 1935.

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY? (Proscribed literature 193_)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

("Mahatmavin Porkolam"- tamil book - forfeited.)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.1041(Confidential)dated28-7-1932, Public (Gen.) Dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a book in tamil entitled "Mahatmavin Porkolam" publiished in colombo.

---

93 273

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. 1930 to 1935

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O. (Proscribed literature 1932)

(Desiya Geetham' - tamil book - forfeited.)

REFERENCE:- G.O.No.1042(Confidential)dated 28-7-1932, Public (Gen) Dept.

--

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a book in tamil entitled, "Desiya Geetha Thirattu Part I to V published in colombo.

--

94 274

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement 1930 to 1935

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O. (Proscribed literature 193

(Tamil Books = objectionable matters - destructed - ordered)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.1058(Confidential)dated 4-8-1932 Public (Gen) Dept.

--

The Government of Madras ordered the destruction of ~~thxeeghx~~two objectionable books in tamil entitled "Sudantara Musasu and "Bhagat Singh Kalaichirathu", published in colombo and seized by custom authorities at Dhanushkodi while being sent to India.

---

95 275

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement 1930 to 1935

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

(Prescribed literature 193…)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Objectionable books - published - destructed - ordered)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.1076(Confidential)dated 9-8-1932, Public (Gen) Dept.

The Government of Madras ordered the destruction of the following objectionable books in tamil which were published in colombo and seized by custom authorities on there way to India. (1) Swadesa Gitangal (2) Bhagat Singh Thooku Thandanai") (3) Desiya Kirtanai.

96

276

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement

1930 to 1935

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

(Proscribed literature 1932)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Tamil Book - forfeited - declared.)

REFEENCE:-G.O.No.1080(Confidential)dated 10-8-1932, Public (Gen.) Dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a book in tamil entitled "Congress Thondar Mariyal Pattu"

---

97 277

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement 1930 to 1935

IN THE MADRAS RRESIDENCY.

(Proscribed literature 193

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

("Desiya Geetham" - Tamil Book - Forfeited.)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.1095(Confidential)dated 17-8-1932, Public (Gen) Dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a book in tamil entitled "Desiya Gitam"

--

Extracts from G.O.s relating to civil disobedience movement (1930-33) in the Madras Presidency (Proscribed literature) (1972)

278
96

MSAK G.O. NO. 1100, ordinary Public dated 18-3-32.

The following is the review in English of the Tamil Book 'Pandit Motilal Pattu'--Part II. Proscribed by the Government of Madras.

The book entitled 'Pandit Motilal Pattu', which is Part II of the publication and which consists of 15 songs including the Congress songs said to be sung by K.B. Sundarambal, was compiled by V.A. Thiagaraja Chettiyar, printed in 1931 at the Sri Vedavalli Press, Choolai, Madras, and published by K.A. Madurai Mudaliyar. The title page alone was printed at the Merchants' Press, Park Town, Madras. Some of the songs in this book deal with the execution of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru, the creed of non-violence, the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi for six years on the 23rd day of Masi of the Tamil year Dummati and the excellence of khaddar and the spinning wheel. The other songs are in praise of Swami Vivekananda and Mr. Gandhi as well as of the service rendered by the latter in the cause of the country. One of the songs characterizes Bhagat Singh and his comrades as spotless youths and represents Mother Bharata as being greatly grieved at 'their heads having been cut off for their attempt to render service to the Mother in a country which is ruled by persons whose administrative policy is to torment one for an offence committed by another, and as standing with rage and a long trident in her hand and saying that she would draw out the entrails of and kill the vile wretches, who murdered the youths and burnt their bodies on the banks of the Sutlej without even their parents seeing them' It is said that the creed of non-violence will

lead to provocation, drag one to court, train the people to enter the horrible jail and perform valiant deeds and embolden one to carry on a struggle and secure fame and that the wearing of khaddar will bring victory for the country and result in a saving of 60 crores of rupees every year. The people are advised to abide by the teachings of Mr. Gandhi, give up drink and the use of other intoxicants, turn the spinning wheel, wear Khaddar, do away with 'slavish' service, expel the cloth of foreigners and strive jointly for securing self-government. The spinning wheel in the hands of Mr. Gandhi is compared to the discuss in the hands of Sri Krishna.

Such sentiments as the following find place among others in these songs:--We cannot forget the action of the foolish and stupid Government in having executed Prince Bhagat Singh in a wicked manner. Behold! The Government cleverly carried out their work in such a way that justice could not be obtained. We cannot forget the action of the Government in having hanged Bhagat Singh in a stealthy manner and without the sanction of any definite law. This injustice was perpetrated in the Lahore jail. All the memorials submitted by eminent persons proved futile. What work have these people to do in India? The time for the destruction of the English Government has come. Is there any law which authorizes the execution of these youths at 7 o' clock in the night? What was the difficulty in delivering their dead bodies of their relations? This is foolish on the part of the Government who know everything. Is it left to their pleasure to consign the remains of the deceased in the Ravi river? This is a merciless Government and the people of India need

100 352 280

not render service to it...............O Goddess Bharata! The glory of human birth is gone. Why should we toil hard like cattle? Is this proper? You have placed us in such a position that other people laugh at us.............If a request is made to the Government, the strange law known as section 144 is applied and arrests are made in a moment and there is also the danger of our being apprehended. Has God no eyes to prevent the arrest of Mr. Gandhi, who is a gentle person and has taken the vow of non-violence? People get the title of 'Honourable' by means of wealth, but God has conferred the everlasting boon of longevity on our Gandhi. Hence, why should we have any fear in our mind?............Why should we feel perturbed when we have the grace of the swaraj mantra of Mr. Gandhi? We had our strength and got duped all these days. We have now realized the truth and our flag will be victorious hereafter. Hoist the swaraj flag of Vande Mataram. Worship Mother Bharata and sing the praise of Mr. Gandhi. Join together, saying that you will co-operate for securing benefit. Wear khaddar cloth woven with the help of the spinning wheel and adopt swadeshism which is suited to the times.............O, Brethren and sisters of the sorrowful country of India! Realize that swaraj is not far off..................Is the justice conceded in the Proclamation of QUeen Victoria in vain? Are all those whose profession is that of a vakil dumb persons? Ah, they cannot speak! Factious spirit is of no good and is highly detrimental. It is very essential that they too should co-operate.

G.O. No. 1094 ordinary Public dated 17-8-1932.

The following is the review in English of a Tamil journal 'Bharatha Veeran' printed and published in Colombo which was proscribed by the Government of Madras.

The journal is edited, printed and published by Mr. L. Kailasanathan at the Colombo Printing Works, Colombo. It was a tri-weekly from the 1st to the 17th May 1932 and has been a daily since the 18th idem. The issues of the journal contain highly objectionable matter calculated to bring Englishmen, the government of the country and the police into hatred or contempt. They contain editorial articles invariably dealing with the British administration in India as well as contributions from various correspondents. An appeal is made to the Indians in these issues to get ready for the 'war of independence' arise for securing swaraj, avoid foreign cloth, toll the knell of foreign rule and proclaim that the autocracy of Englishmen will not do hereafter. The police, who are spoken of as wretched, inefficient, dishonest, wicked and arrogant and who are said to have come forward to commit atrocities day and night, are advised to behave like good boys ~~and~~ or resign their posts and joing the national movement as volunteers. Englishmen are characterized as a gang of barbarians that have come here for eking out their livelihood and as wicked, selfishungrateful and treacherous people whose sole aim is to practice deception and exploit the wealth of this country. One of the issues reproduces a manifesto said to have been issued by the Communists of Bombay, in which it is stated that the foreign Government has been unjustly

afflicting the people as it pleases for a long time and that they are prepared to secure the right which they lost, even at the point of the sword, and to sacrifice their lives for the cause of India. Sir Samuel Hoare is peported to have vowed to crush the Indians. Lord Willingdom is held responsible for the 'improper acts of the cruel bureaucracy' and the remark is made that it is detestable that this 'fogey', who has been eating the salt of the Indians from his birth, should prove treacherous to them. The murder of Mr. Douglas, the Magistrate of Midnapore, is said to auger ill for the British and they are asked to hand over the country to the Indians if they cannot tackel the present situation. The Government is characterized in several places as cruel, unjust, despotic and greedy of territorial aggrandizement.

The issues of the journal contain the following sentiments among others: O Englishmen! The tears shed by the Indians will destroy London. We had enough of your rule here and none in India will pay any tax hereafter. Run back to England soon. In this country governed by a band of Feringhees who were roaming about without any civilization, every one of them has begun to afflict the people as he likes and fleece money from them. O devil having a greed for money! Do not think that, since we have been slaves till now, we will continue to be such even hereafter. Prevail upon your countrymen to see that our money is returned to us honourably; otherwise you will perish with all the members of your

103 283 355

family. In no other country have atrocities been committed or are going to be committed hereafter like those perpetrated in our motherland at present. Khaddar is an effective weapon for crushing the 'European bugs' and getting rid of poverty. The Willingdon Government is wanting in discriminative faculty. All the provincial authorities in India are mad after money and all the money robbed from the people has been spent on purchasing guns and lathis. Even Governors have begun to feel anxious about the money, which was kept in reserve for developing the resources of the country, having been ~~spent for beating vo-~~ spent for beating volunteers, insulting women and imprisoning leaders. Our people were for a long time co-operating with the 'English devils' with the best of intentions and the result is the industries of our country have perished, the shipping trade of our ancestors has become defunct, our credit has been lost and we have had to pay an enormous amount as interest and debts. The Madras Government, who have not the least sense of honour, have begun to pretend that they have great sympathy for the public. Not only are they blood-thirsty, but they are also actuated by a greed for money. The rulers should note that, even if a drop of blood of an Indian youth falls on the ground, it will prove to be a sharp weapon cutting at the root of the English rule. The civil disobedience movement will not disappear as long as the foreign rule continues. We have resolved not to abide by the directions of the foreign rule continues. We have resolved not to abide by the directions of the foreign rulers hereafter. The 'murderous whites', who

brought into existence several cruel laws and regulations, deprived us of our livelihood, commited untold atrocities and destroyed the Indian shipping trade altogether. Ever since the wretched group of traitors set foot in our land styling themselves as the East India Company, we have become immersed in poverty and the whites that came here to beg have ventured even to keep us under subjection and govern. The advent of the British rule in India has resulted in an endless suffering. Communal disturbances have been in evidence in this country ever since the 'English devil' set foot here. Lord Willingdon, who cannot discriminate between justice and injustice, has been mainly responsible for permitting the merciless and unjust police to crush the poor Indians completely. The administration carried on at present by Lord Willingdon's Government, consisting of selfish and self-conceited persons, is worse than the atrocities committed by the cruel Dyer. O bureacuracy of Willingdon, having the tender heart of Ravana and the lofty ideal of thrusting India into a ruined well! Bear in mind that Sri Krishna, who killed King Kamsa that conducted the administration cruelly like you, has now himself appeared as Mr. Gandhi to do away with your unrighteous acts. After the famous forts in India were shattered by the whites, the minor States that were left alone by inadvertance were very easily destroyed one after another by the fraudulent machination and tyranny of Englishmen. Englishmen did not even take the trouble of patting on the back and feeding the 'animals'

285
357

105

that secured victory for them in all these wars. They were treating disrespectfully and harassing the sepoys in their army for 100 years. The Indian sepoys, who worked under Englishmen, would have nothing but a few words of praise whenever they won a victory. They are not given rich presents or jagirs as is done in Hyderabad. The very merciful order issued by General Arthur Wellesley, that the wounded sepoys should be placed at the mouth of the cannon and shot instead of being sent to the hospital for treatment, was all the reward that the Indian sepoys had in return for the service rendered by them in securing India for England.

In view of the foregoing report, the aforesaid 21 issues of the journal may be deemed to contain matter of the nature described in section 4 (1) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931, as amended by Ordinance No. X of 1932.

REPORT ON THE REMAINING 20 ISSUES OF THE "BHARATA VEERAN".

The contents of these issues also are highly objectionable and are calculated to bring Englishmen, the Government and the police into hatred or contempt. They consist of both editorial and contributed articles of a highly condemnatory nature and relate to a variety of subjects

106
286
358

such as the policy and administration of the British authorities in India, the conduct of the police, the Report of the Lothain Committee, the treatment of women prisoners in jail and the 'brutal atrocities and murderous deeds' said to have been perpetrated by the 'wretched' Colonel Neill. Appeals to the Indians are made frequently in these issues asking them to come forward to participate in the struggle for the liberation of the country from foreign rule., toll the knell of foreign domination, cut asunder the 'chains of slavery', abide, by the teachings of Mr. Gandhi, enter prison disobeying all laws and be prepared for sacrificing their lives for the sake of the country until victory is achieved.

These issues continue to characterize Englishmen as wicked traitors, greedy and cruel wretches, murderous devils and experts in conducting themselves artfully and faudulently, and the police as hooligans, dogs, merciless knaves and perpetrators of atrocities and massacres. The administration is spoken of as a despotic one afflicting the helpless Indians. A warning to the authorities is given now and then, the keynote of which is that the time of the destruction of the 'white' Government and foreign domination is drawing near. The issues condemn in very strong terms the atrocities said to have been perpetrated by Lord Dalhousie during his Viceroyalty. They exhort the police to discard the gold medals proposed to be given by the Government to 'the

107

35928/

murderous wretches among them for having beaten the volunteers mercilessly and outraged the modesty of women, fling them at those that present them, choose to starve and die if they are afraid of losing their appointments and reject the help offered by the English devils'. They hold the foreign rule responsible for the present 'poor plight' of India and assert that, if Englishmen are allowed to continue in India, they will destroy everything. The British Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy are represented as merciless and cruel wretches hatching a conspiracy to afflict the Indians, who are yearning for liberty. It is said in a certain place that the Indian Rulers and the King of England will have to lose their thrones in a few years.

The following sentiments find place among others in these issues: The ~~rely-give-~~ reply given by Sir Samuel Hoare in the Parliament to a question relating to the Bombay riot demonstrates his foolish, wicked and reactionary nature. If the object of the Indians is not accomplished in the third Round Table Conference and if their fetters are not shattered, it is certain that the British officials will have to come under the most malignant influence of the Saturn. Atrocities such as those that were committed during the Bombay riot are indeed the indications of the end of the British rule. This murderous wretch (Lord Dalhousie), who was actuated by arrogance and pertinacity, came here with the determination to raze Hindustan to the ground. O British Empire! Your destruction is near. The time has

108

360

288

come for the fetters of the Mother to be broken to pieces. There is room for the impression that the Government have been helpful to those that brought about the communal riot in Bombay and have even encouraged the selfish devils who were responsible for it. Other countries detest the mean acts committed by you. It would be better for you to get yourself interred than to govern poor people with brute force like this. O Bureaucracy! Whose money is it that was spent for distributing sweets among the police hooligans, who prevented the holding of a session of the Congress at Delhi? We have been tolerating every act of yours. We will not tolerate such acts hereafter. We will not pay any regard to you or obey your laws or pay taxes. O Government! You support the wretches, who beat even those that are in jail and are suffering from the pangs of hunger till they vomited blood. Your end is drawing near. Rivers of blood are flowing in the country and guns and bullets are largely in evidence. O Tyranny! Become wise before it is too late. You had better realize that, if you are indifferent, the people will secure their liberation to-day or to-morrow. Policemen deem it to be their duty to afflict innocent people. It is understood that the higher officials and the subordinates of the Indian police received bribes last year to the extent of a crore of rupees from gamblers and illicit dealers in ganja. When will the British Government perish and become extinct? Let the British Empire be reduced to dust. The higher officials employed under the foolish

Government are also fools endowed with a hard heart and brutal nature. Tyranny is largely in evidence in our country and it will not last long. The action of the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, in deporting 70 Indians in connexion with the riot there is high-handed and there can be no doubt hereafter that the people will try to drive out the Willingdon Government, who have taken refuge under the police dogs and rendered pecuniary assistance for creating a split between the Hindus and the Muslims in that province. Ever since Englishmen set foot in our country, iniquities and murders have been increasing. The Indians are satisfied that the time has drawn near for the utter destruction of the foreign domination. The coffin is ready for the interment of the Government, which is conducting the administration in a high-handed manner and in the interests of those comprising it. The action of the Government of India in supporting the police, who are now committing such barbarous and cruel acts as even savagges would be afraid of committing, is lacerating the feelings of the Indians. It is certain that, as long as there is life in us, we will not spare the police who are outraging the modesty of our heroic women as well as the wretches who are removing our national flag. We Indians have resolved to part with our lives only after wreaking vengeance on them for these acts. We warn the Government that, if they do not take note of the conduct of the police and adopt proper measures, an unforeseen danger will befall them.

110

362 290

The 20 issues of the journal in question may, in view of the report given above, be deemed to contain matter of the nature described in section 4 (1) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931, as amended by Ordinance No. X of 1932.

REPORT ON THE ISSUES OF THE "BHRATA VEERAN", DATED THE 28TH JUNE 1932.

These issues also follow the same line as the previous issues and are couched in highly objectionable language. The earlier issue contains an article condemning the sentence of death passed on Bhattacharji, the murderer of Mr. Douglas, the Magistrate of Midnapore, a leader on the revolution brought about in Siam and an appeal to the Indian troops to follow the example of the Siamese troops, who are reported to have stood by the people in bringing about a change in the form of government in Siam. It is said that the 'unjust' rule of the 'wretched whites' is the root cause of murders taking place in the country and that signs are visible of the approach of the time when the 'white Government, which has bound the people by the iron chain of political bondage, will perish'. The later issue comments adversely on the speech made on the 27th June 1932 by Sir Samuel Hoare in the Parliament and characterizes his utterance as a very bold and mischievous blabbing.

The following sentiments find place among others in these two issues: It has become one of the principal

111 363 291

duties of the authorities to pass sentences of death without proper evidence or inquiry. O Foolish Government! Do not entertain the arrogant idea ~~trial~~ that you are going to wreack vengeance. We are ready to give you an adequate reward for your sending our brother, Bhattacharji, to the gallows. You are going to realize very soon that we Indians have the strength to send the British Empire itself to the gallows. Long Live revolution! May the English Empire perish! O Indian troops and police forces! The blood of your brethren born in India is still flowing in your veins. Though you are employed under the white officials for eking out your livelihood, set out at once to save the honour of your Mother. Let every Indian troop realize that the Infantry and the Navy of Siam rendered assistance to its people. Do not prove treacherous to the salt you have eaten till now. The time is approaching when the agitation raised by your ancestors during the Sepoy Mutiny is to prove fruitful. Let the civil and military population rise heroically. O Secretary of State for India! You have demonstrated by your speech your knavery, which is characteristic of your race. You perhaps take delight in shedding the blood of the poor. Whatever may be the number of wicked laws passed, we shall surely strive for liberty to the very last. Though your guns may throw out balls of fire, you have not strength enough to overcome our creed of non-violence. The official devils have vowed to afflict the ~~poor~~ Power further. The position of the British Empire, which is trying very hard and

arrogant to crush the Indians, has become topsy-turvy. While your country itself is about to get our of your hands, your race ca cannot retain India. What can a dog do with a full coconut?

In view of these sentiments, the two issues in question may be deemed to contain matter of the nature described in section 4 (1) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931, as amended by Ordianance No. X of 1932.

- - - -

Extracts from G.O.s relating to civil disobedience movements in the Madras Presidency (Proscribed Literature) 1932 (1932-1935)

113 293 365

~~arrogant to crush the Indians, has become topsy-turvy. While your country itself is about to get out of your hands, your race cannot retain India. What can a dog do with a full coconut?~~

~~In view of these sentiments, the two issues in question may be deemed to contain matter of the nature described in section 4 (1) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931, as amended by Ordinance No. X of 1932.~~

MSK G.O. No. 1001 Ordinary, Public dated 20-7-1932.

The following is the extract from 'Swarajya' entit ed 'Ill-treatment of Political Prisoners'.

ILL TREATMENT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

Ordinance in action.

(By Father Elwin).

"There is no doubt", says Prof. Madariaga in his book "Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards," 'that the people of England are a good-humoured, easily led nation. The deep-rooted hierarchical sense which is typical of it predisposes it to believe what it hears from its leaders" The Englishman finds it almost impossible to credit stories of atrocity or injustice committed in his name, especially when these stories are denied by the highest Parliamentary authority. But we who live in India--in the real India, not the India of the Willingdon Club or of episcopal palaces--know that many of these stories are only too tragically true. But how can we prove it?

We ourselves can only see very little we can investigate and test information; but in the very nature of things we cannot give a mathematical proof. But the other day, I removed form the Library of the Servants of India Society itself the central shrine of Indian moderation, great files of official Reports of the proceedings of the Provincial Councils throughout India. Here, if anywhere, I thought I will find some really respectable information No. M.L.C. is going to give publicity in the Council to facts of which he is not certain, nor can his facts be regarded as the fruit of political bias, since Congressmen will not have anything to do with the Councils. An M.L.C. to-day is by definition a cautious and moderate political."

But as I turned over page after page of these reports "printed by authority, I rubbed my eyes in astonishment. Was I not really reading a Congress Bulletin? Could this amazing, sickening tale of cruelty come from the lips of those who themselves were legislating for the country? But it was so. Now I want to give you a few gleanings from these reports. If anything is true, these must be writes Father Elwin in Free Press Journal.

POLICE AND THE POOR.

First the police. People say that I am very uncharitable about the police. I am. That is because I live among the poor. There is a prayer of Tagore's "Give me the strength never to disown the poor". And to the poor the police are a nightmare. The Ordinances have

given to the police enormous powers, and we are assured that these powers are not misused. I wish I could have Sir Samuel Hoare to live in our village! Woul you like to read what the "Police Annual Report" says of the Emergency Police, recruited to deal with a movement manned by some of the most cultured people in the country?

"The Emergency Police are a rag-tag and bob-tail collection ill-fed ill-clothed and disloyal. They have set an exceedingly bad and dangerous example" The Bombay M.L.C. who quoted this said that to give such men extra powers was like putting a torch in the hands of the devil.

ANNUAL BRIBE OF ONE CRORE.

In the debate on the Police Grant in the Bombay Council on March 9th, the full story was given of the police assault on completely innocent and harmless people buying and selling in the Reay Market at Poona, when 105 people were injured. There was a meeting in the market, but the Police were not content to disperse the meeting; they attacked the peasants sitting at their wares. An old potato-woman was heavily belaboured. An M.L.C. said "The present idea of the police appears to be to inflict the maximum harm that they possibly can inflict" At the same debate an M.L.C. from Sind gave a graphic account of the Police zoolum there. He claimed that the force received a crore of rupees yearly in bribes, and many officers were building magnificent houses on their hush-money from opium-sellers and gambling dens.

116 368 296

IN C.P.

In the C.P. Council on January 18th (Official Report Vol. III. No. 1) an M.L.C. described the arrest of my friend Mr. Salpekar--a very fine deeply religious man, an old man, with whom I once explored the Gond country. The police charged and beat the perfectly peaceful crowd which came to see him off. 'Not only were peaceful citizens thus outraged but the police declared a crusade against Khadi dress and Gandhi caps".

A lady member of the Council urged that Government should behave more like a mother and less like a vindictive mother-in-law. At the discussion on the Adjournment Motion on March 1st (Official Report, Vol.iii No.9) which was passed by the Council in protest against deliberate suppression of facts in a Government communique about certain incidents in the Wardha District, an M.L.C, read an account by an eye-witness of the lathi charge in Wardha.

> "It is difficult to draw a true picture of the severity of the lathi charge and the vengeance with which it was made. The police never cared whether the lathies were cracking upon the heads or on the noses. They went on thrashing even after the victim fell down. Many persons broke their limbs, as the narrowness of the lanes left no room for them to escape. Some were pushed to the walls with the ends of the lathis pressed in their chests, ribs and backs".

BEATING FOR WEARING KHADI CAP.

In the Madras Legislative Council (Proceeding, Vol.LXI No. 6) on March 17th, a token cut was moved in

117

2597
369

the Police Grant. An M.L.C. said, 2Concerning the policy adopted by political department in connection with the Civil Disobedience movement, I need hardly say that it has received from all sides of this house and from the outside public severest condemnation. I do not think that within recent times any other department of Government has come in for so much criticism as the Police (Page 432). People are beaten for no other offence than wearing Khadi (p.433) Workers were beaten, put in buses, taken out of the way places miles away and left by the roadside at night, and then if anyone gave them shelter or food they too were beaten by the Police. Heartlessness and brutality can go no further".

Another M.L.C. described how urine was poured into the mouth of a volunteer (p. ~~347~~ 270) Member after member rose in the Council, and a storm of bitter criticism fell on the Home Member. He was toldof the burning of Khadi, clothes which were stripped from the wearers who were compelled to buy foreign cloth and wear it; (p.683) of the beating of Cuddalore, (p.613) where one volunteer was flogged so badly that he vomitted blood and his life was endangered: how bus-drivers at Tirukkovilur were ordered by the Inspector not to carry persons injured by the police.

"USE ALL FORCE"

The instructions of Government, declared an M.L.C. are that "When unlawful assemblies are to be dispersed, lathies are to be used with all the force the users are capable of and that the blows should be aimed at the

118 298 320

neck and face" (p.613) There was strong criticism of Government's refusal to face any enquiry. "India has had Rakshasas and Demons and invasions of Nadir Shah and Tamerland..........But at least they had the courage to admit that they did these things knowingly and deliberately". (p.443)

The situation was summed up by another M.L.C. (p.438) "The Empire is slowly slipping out of the hands of the British, not because of the Civil Disobedience movement or of the feeling in the country, but because of their own actions. If really the Empire is going to be kept and India is going to be a contented partner in the Empire, it is time that people were treated as civilised human beings and methods of administration are applied as are applied in other countries".

JAIL ADMINISTRATION.

Second the jails. A discussion in the U.P. Legislative Council on March 16th. (Official Report, No, LIV) revealed a deplorable state of affairs in the prisons of the province. An M.L.C. described the food as fit only for cattles: the clothing insufficient: the cells overcrowded; the sanitary arrangements unsatisfactory. He told how human beings had to work on oil-press, going round and round like bullocks for five or six hours a day.

Another describing the bad smell of the food and the flour mixed with dirt, asked if the jails were places of reformation or of vengeance. Another described the

miserable condition of the "C" Class political prisoners in the District Jail at Agra. "They were very badly treated, And Some of them I do not say most, were found in fetters".

In the Camp Jail at Lucknow, the prisoners are kept in tin sheds, unsheltered by any trees, in a burning heat of a hundred and ten degrees. "To keep political prisoners in such places gives an impression of vengefulness."

TREATMENT OF WOMEN.

In the Madras Council (Proceedings, Vol.LXI.No. 6) strong complaints were made about the treatment of women, the removal of their bangles and kunkum, their being compelled to grind and eat ragi. (p.417) There were complaints of flogging of political prisoners in Bellary Jail. "No access is given to public men to find out the real circumstances that prevail in jail". Insufficient water led to much sickness. The food was inadequate. National customs were ignored. Hindu women were forced to wear white sarees which are worn only by widows in that part of India. "This is a glaring case of want of appreciation of the Indian sentiment".

In Rajahmundry, said an M.L.C. "the food supplied to the 'C' class prisoners, whether political or non-political it is immaterial, is said to be so bad that it is unfit for human consumption". Nails and worms are found in the wretched rice. The cells are improperly ventilated. "The Jail Manual is out of date. It was conceived in a punitive spirit and in terms of the Zoo and the wild animals brought from the forest".

CLASSIFICATION OF PRISONERS.

Another cause of discontent in all the Councils has been the arbitrary and unequal classification of prisoners. An M.L.C. in the U.P. Council declared that "the general feeling all over the country is that on account of their political creed certain men, when as under trial or when sentenced to a certain term of imprisonment are put in the lowest class simply to torture them and to give them all possible trouble, so that they may not appear in the political field in future" (Official Report, LIV. 458). Another M.L.C. said that the facts were such "that it would not be improper for us to suspect that there has been some sort of secret instruction or order from the Government to all the Magistrates to revise the classification".

In putting A class prisoners in to B class, and B. class prisoners into C class, "Government is flouting the opinion of this house". "In civilised nations even in the conditions of war, prisoners of war are treated with courtesy. They are not treated in the manner as other ordinary criminals are treated." (p.471). The C.P. Council was even more outspoken in its condemnation of the "farcical trials held within the jails" and of the classification. "The justice that is dealt out to-day is not anything more than a mere farce. The Magistrates carry out the orders that are given to them by their superiors. The Magistrates give sentences that are dictated to them. The Magistrates impose the fines they are asked to impose. (Official Report. Vol. III. No.1 p.47)

121 301 323

The discussion in the Madras Council revealed many of the vagaries of classification. Two very rich merchants of Madura a Municipal councillor, an honorary assistant surgeon, prominent advocates, have been placed in C. class "We have always been told", said an M.L.C. "that the police and Magistrates are not vindictive. There instances which show that there is nothing but vindictiveness and revenge". (Proceedings Vol.LXI. No. 6 p.417).

This miserable story could be extended almost indefinitely But these instances, which are typical, will be sufficient. There is no need for comment by a strange paradox. I have just come across this sentence in Madariaga. "The true category of English life is liberty. For liberty is the absence of political restraint".

--:0:--

122 302 304

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement 1930 to 1935

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. (Proscribed literature 193.

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Objectionable Pictures - import - destructed - ordered)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.1105(Confidential)dated 19-8-1932 Public (Gen.) Dept.

The Government of Madras ordered the destruction of objectionable pictures of national leaders, imported into British India from Ceylon and Malay states.

---

123 303 323

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. 1930 to 1935.

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O. (Proscribed literature 1932)

("Desiya Kirthanai" - destructed - ordered.)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.1106(Confidential)dated 19_8-1932 Public Dept.

The Government of Madras ordered the destruction of an objectionable book in tamil entitled "Desiya Kirtanai" seized by custom authorities at Dhanushkodi.

1244 3046 3276

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. 1930 to 1935

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O. (Proscribed literature 193

(Tamil Book - forfeited - ordered)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.1122(Confidential)dated 26-8-1932, Public (Gen) dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a book in tamil entitled "Pandit Motilal Pattu Part I by V.A.Thiagaraja Chettiyar.

----

125 305

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

1930 to 1935

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Proscribed literature 193

322)

(Tamil Books - forfeited - declared)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.1172(Confidential)dated 9-9-1932, Public (Gen) Dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited two tamil books entitled "Sardar Patel" and "History of the warriors of Satyagraha" written by M.S.Subramaniya Iyer.

---

126 306 328

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. 1930 to 1935

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O. (Proscribed literature 1932)

(Tamil Book - objectionable - forfeited ordered.)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.1174(Confidential)dated 10-9-1932, Public (Gen) Dept.

The Government of Madras ordered the destruction of the objectionable book in tamil entitled "Desabhaktan Bhajani", seized by the custom authorities at Denushkodi.

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement 1930 to 1935

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

(Proscribed literature 1932)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Objectionable - tamil books - destructed - ordered)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.1181(Confidential)dated 12-9-1932 Public (Gen) Dept.

The Government of Madras ordered the destruction of seventeen objectionable books in tamil seized by the custom authorities at Danushkodi.

128

308 380

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement

1930 to 1935.

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

(Proscribed literature 1932)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Tamil Books - Objectionable - destructed - ordered.)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.1187(Confidential)dated 13-7-1932 Public (Gen) Dept.

The Government of Madras ordered the destruction of twelve objectionable books in tamil seized by the custom authority at Danushkodi while being imported secretly from ceylon.

---

129 381 309

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement 1930 to 1935

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

(Proscribed Literature 193

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

("Swarajya Pattu" - Objectionable - ordered)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.1188(Confidential)dated 13-9-1932, Public (Gen) Dept.

The Government of Madras ordered the destruction of an objectionable book in tamil entitled "Swarajya Pattu" seized by the custom authorities at Dhanushkodi, white being imported from ceylon.

---

130 310 382

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement
IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. 1930 to 1935
ABSTRACT OF THE G.O. (Proscribed literature 1932)

(Tamil Book - objectionable - destructed - ordered)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.1201(Confidential)dated 19-9-1932, Public (Gen.) Department.

The Government of Madras ordered the destruction of the objectionable book in tamil entitled "Bhadur Bhagavat Singh or Desabhimani Thilakam Part I" seized by the custom authorities at Dhanushkodi.

131

3311

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement
IN THE MADRAS PRESI ENCY. 1930 to 1935
(Proscribed literature 1932)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Tamil Book - Objectionable - destructed - ordered)

REFERENCE: G.O.No.1203(Confidential)dated 20-9-1932, Public (Gen) Depat.

The Government of Madras ordered the destruction of an objectionable book in tamil entitled "Samadharma Mulakkam" seized by the custom authorities at Dhanushkodi.

---

132 3/14 584

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. 1930 to 1935 (Proscribed literature 1932)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Tamil Books - Objectionable - destructed - ordered)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.1242(Confidential)Dated 24-9-1932, Public (Gen) Dept.

The Government of Madras ordered the destruction of seven objectionable tamil books seized by the custom authorities at Dhanushkodi while being sent from ceylon.

---

138 313 385 215

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement 1930 to 1935

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. (Proscribed literature 1932)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Tamil Book - Objectionable - destructed - ordered)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.1298(Confidential)dated 7-10-1932 Public General Dept.

The Government of Madras ordered the destruction of an objectionable book in tamil entitled "Desabhimani Sentamil tilakam" written by K.S.Arunagiri Nadar and seized by custom authoritxies at Dhanushkodi.

134

3.86 3/4

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. 1930 to 1935

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O. (Proscribed literature 1932)

(Tamil Book - objectionable - destructed - ordered)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.1312,(Confidential)dated 11-10-1932, Public (Gen.)Dept.

The Government of Madras ordered the destruction of a tamil objectionable book entitled "Desiya Gita Tirattu Part VI" seized by the custom authorities at Dhanushkodi.

135

315

387

~~XXXXXXXXX~~

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement 1930 to 1935

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

(Proscribed literature 193

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Tamil Book - Objectionable-destructed - ordered)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.1452(Confidential)dated 12-11-1932, Public (Gen.) Dept.

The Government of Madras ordered, the destruction of a tamil objectionable book entitled "Mahatma Gandhi Thiyagam" seized the custom authorities at Danushkodi.

136

388 3/6

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement 1930 to 1935

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

(Proscribed literature 1932)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Tamil Book - Objectionable - destructed - ordered)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.1520(Confidential)dated 28-11-1932, Public (Gen.)Dept.

The Government of Madras ordered the destruction of an objectionable tamil book entitled "Parithapa gitta Therrattu" and five other books seized at Dhanushkodi by custom authorities.

Extracts from G.O.s relating to civil disobedience movement in the Madras Presidency (Proscribed literature) (1933) (1930)

G.O.No. 63 dated 17-1-1933 Pub. Confdl.

137317

Sri S. Mukundalal Sircar, the General Secretary of the All India Trade Union congress was in the Madras City. He addressed the labourers and the working classes. The following is a summary of an appeal issued by him to the working class:-

"You are aware that there have been systamatic attacks upon the working class movement and as a result, a number of mills workers have been executed, many of the mills and railway workers have been sentenced to transportation for life, hundreds have been killed by uncalled for firing while many more have got serious injuries by lathi Charges. A sense campaign of repression initiated by the Government of India is being carried on throughout the length and breadth of the country against the national liberation movement. The promulgatio of ordinances and their execution has resulted in the imprisonment Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Abdul Gafur Khan, Pandit Nehru etc.

It is needless to mention that the Indian working class is neither committed for is a party to the programme of civil disobediance movement initiated by the working committee of the Indian National Congress but at the same time it is determined to resist any attack upon the elementary rights of citizenship specially in matters like the freedom of speech association and press. . . . .

----

138 318 398

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO civil disobedience movement (miscellaneous) (Temple entry)

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

Legislative Council Resolution - January 1933 - Dr. Subbarayan's Temple entry Bill - Local Government to recommend to the Governor general to give his assert to the Bill.

REFERENCE:-G.O.No. 107 (Con) dated 30-1-1933, Public (Gen)Dept.

Public (General)Department.

NOTE FOR THE CABINET.

Legislative Council Resolutions No. 7 (430) and 8(442) regarding Temple entry.

Notice has been received of the following two resolutions and they have been ballotted for the 24th January 1933.

RESOLUTIONS.

I

Mr.V.T.Arasu.

442. This Council recommends to the Government that they may be pleased to recommend to His Excellency the Governor-General to accord sanction to the Temple Entry Bill given notice of by Dr. P.Subbarayan.

II.

Mr. SamiMxVenkatachalam Chetti.

430. That this Council recommends to the Government that a Committee of Hindus be immediately appointed to ascertain in the public Hindu opinion on the right and desirability of the entry of Avarna Hindus into Hindu temples and on the restrictions if any either in respect of region or of the time of such entry or the performance of ceremonies, which will have to be recommended for compliance by the Avarnas before they are allowed admission into the temples.

The first is in the effect practically the same as the annexed resolution carried by the Legislative Council on the 1st November 1932. The Government remained neutral and the proceedings of the Council showing the sense of the House in regard to that resolution have been forwarded to the Government of India. The decision of the Government of India on the

139

319

391

question of introducing legislation on the subject is expected shortly and they have been asked by telegram to communicate it if possible before 24th.

The decision of the Government of India will determine the attitude of this Government. If, however, the decision is not received in time, the question for decision is whether the Government will remain neutral as before or adopt any other attitude.

G.T.H. Bracken,

20/1/1933.

Extracts from GOs relating to civil disobedience movement in the Madras Presidency (Proscribed Literature) (1930-35)

G.O.No. 36 . Confdl. dated 9-1-1933:--

Under the auspices of the Madras Mahajana Sabha a Public meeting was held in the Gokhale Hall, Madras on the 3rd December to endorse the resolutions of the unity conference held at Allahabad and to protest against the ordinance Bill. Mrs.G.Consing, speaking in Support of the resolution, made a highly objectionable and inflammatory speech Mrs. Consing made a similar speech at an open air meeting held on the Triplicane Beach and she has also distributed leaflets to the same effect. An order was served on her prohibiting her from holding on convenience meeting, processions or other demonstrations and from taking any part in them for a period of one month with in the city limits. The following is the text of the speeches made at the meeting:--

Mr.V.Ramdoss in the couse of his remarks said that a Bill which laid the axe at the liberties of the people of this country, which practically destroyed individual and public freedom of action and placed abnormal restraint upon the normal civil activities of the citizens of this country was being rushed through the Central Legislature and that it was the duty of the people of this country at least to raise their voice of protest effectively against the passage of such a measure through the Indian Legislature, even if they could not ultimately avert its passage. He added that this was the third stage of repressive legislation. First of all, repressive legislation took the shape of a number of ordinances begun some time in 1930 with the Press Ordinance later on

141 321 393

supplemented by certain Ordiances in 1931 and still further strengthened by the Ordinance of January '32 All these Ordinances were consolidated a few months ago into the special Powers Ordinance. On all those occasions, it was one man who had passed the legislation by virtue of the power vested under Section 72 of the Government of India Act - the Governor-General without the assistance of the Legislative Council had passed these laws. What was sought to be done now was to embody the provisions of the Special Powers Ordinance into the normal law of the country by a bill to amend the Criminal law. If this Bill was passed now by the Indian Legislature, the cry that was set up that one man had passed such repressive measures, would really lose its force, and if the representatives of the people helped the Government to enact this measure, then the people of India, in some measure would take the responsibility for the measure. It was true that the present Legislative Assembly was a very unrepresentative one; by the withdrawal from it of the Congress and the Independent groups, it had become a very attenuated body hardly representative of the progressive opinion in this country. But still there were men in it who were real patriots, and all honour to that small band of patriots who were fighting this measure inch by inch, though they were losing ground. They (the audience) must strengthen their hands by showing that the country was behind them and not behind those who were supporting the Bill.

Dealing with some of the provisions of the Bill, the speaker said that certain sections of it penalised acts on the part of citizens and they compelled people to do or dissuaded them from doing certain acts. In that

142-392 394

category of sections was the section which penalised peaceful picketing. Any attempt to prevent people from purchasing foreign goods or to prevent them from having recourse to a place where intoxicating liquors were sold would be punishable under the Bill. They (audience) were aware that there was the Ottawa Bill also in the Assembly. The Ottawa Bill aimed at giving preference to British goods in this country by lowering duties on British goods and increasing duties on foreign goods. By financial measures to which people of this country were bitterly opposed, Government were creating facilities for the purchase of British goods in this country and, at the same time, by the Ordiance Bill they were taking care to see that peaceful picketing would not be allowed. It might not be a mere accident, but it was really a deliberate plan that both the Bills were to expire at the end of three years. During those three years British manufacturers would have a free hand in importing British goods into this country and, during that time, the people of this country would be completely prevented from using their constitutional and legitimate right to prevent people from buying foreign goods and encouraging swadeshi.

The second provision in the Bill was that, if Civil Disobedience was to be killed in this country any form of assitance to any civil resister must be made punishable. If there was a public servant whose wife was a civil resister he should not give her food but drive her away from the house; if the husband happened to be a civil resiter, the wife must send him away from the house. Another provision of the Bill was one which was not to be found in any civilized jurisprudence. Under it people were aksed to do or

not to do certain things if the congress declared hartal and if a man did not keep his shop open, he would be punishable under the Bill. In the speaker's opinion, it was a perversion of law to arm the Executive with powers asking people to do or not to do certain things without any emergency being proved. Then, there was another section under which associations could be declared unlawful, political organisations inconvenient to Government could be declared illegal and their properties could be confiscated. Then, there was the portion of the Bill dealing with the Press; practically, the Press lived at the mercy of the Government. In the matter of punishments, the Magistrate could fine to the extent of Rs.25,000/- Under the section dealing with parental responsibility, they found that if young man under 18 were punished, the father or the mother or the guardian would be made to pay the fine.

Continuing, the speaker observed that if the provisions of the Bill were really enforced, no man would have any freedom to breath freely or to speak frankly and there would be an end to all public life and public activity and constitutional agitation in this country. It was said, he added, that this measure was enacted for a specific purpose and that purpose was Mr.Haig had said, that powers must be taken for a period--sufficient to see not only the end of the present Civil Disobedience movement but that there was no change of its revival at a time when power was being transferred. They (Government) said that until the power was fully transferred from the Bureaucracy to the people of India, such powers must exist with

the bureaucracy. Therefore, at the end of three years, when they found that power was not transferred, they would say that the process of transfer was not complete and, therefore, till the process of transference was complete, these powers must exist. Therefore, if the people wanted to live in this country and carry on their peaceful avocations, it was up to them to see that they protested against this measure and told publicly that those who supported it were enemeies of India.

The second item on the agenda was to express their satisfaction at the decisions of the Unity Conference and to thank the indefatigable workers in the national cause.

Mr. Yakub Hassan Sait moved the following resolution:--

> This meeting of the citizens of Madras welcomes the decisions of the Committee of the Unity Conference and requests the leaders of all shades of opinion to sink their differences in the interests of national solidarity and communal harmony and endorses its whole-hearted approval to them at the ensuing session of the Conference at Allahabad. This meeting further places on record its appreciation of the meritorious services rendered to the solution of the great communal problem by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Moulana Shaukat Ali and other leaders of the Unity Conference.

He said that what he considered a matter of great

satisfaction was that at Allahabad the Sikhs of the Punjab and the Hindus of Sind took up the very kind of attitude towards the Muslim majority in those Provinces which the Muslims had adopted towards Hindu majorities elsewhere. That was a great object lesson to the Muslim community, and by the manner in which the Muslims had tried their best to meet the Sikhs and Hindus, they themselves established their claims for the same sort of treatment from the Hindu majorities in a broader all India question. That was a great achievement indeed and the speaker felt sure that this feature of it would not be lost on the other Muslim leaders who were putting obstacles in the ratification of this great solution, and that the Mussalmans of all parties would ratify the decisions.

Mrs. AMMU SWAMINATHAN formally seconded the resolution.

Diwan Bahdur R.N. AROGIASWAMI MUDALIAR in supporting the resolution said that they were meeting that day under very depressing circumstances. They were threatened with the passing of an enactment which would deprive them of every little vestige of liberty that they still enjoyed. The question that naturally they would be thinking of answering would be what are we to do?" They might do many things, but if they were to achieve any useful result, the first and the most important thing to achieve was national unity. Among the many events that had happened of late, one of the most promising and possessing the largest amount of political significance was the pact that had been arrived at Allahabad. That was an achievement which, they could pride themselves in thinking, had welded

326 398

146

them once again into a nation, and in the days to come when they would have to face the drastic provisions of the Ordinance Bill, they would have the consolation of thinking and of feeling that they would act together in combating this terrible menace.

The speaker had been feeling that as a result of the last Round Table Conference, the constitution that would be thrust on them would be, not self-government, not Dominion Status, but some camouflage of Provincial Autonomy and the Federation was a very doubtful thing which they would not have in the immediate future and the new Odinance Bill was only preparing the way for it. They had reason to congratulate themselves that, when the trouble came in the future, they would be prepared to act in that emergency as a united nation.

The resolution was put to the meeting and declared carried unanimously.

Mr. T.R. VENKATARAMA SASTRI next moved the following resolution:--

This meeting of the citizens of Madras, while viewing with great concern and alarm the impending passage of the consolidated Ordinance Bill in the Indian Legislature, expresses its opinion that the political situation in India does not warrant any repressive measure at all in particular such a highly repressive measure as is being rushed through the Legislature at present which cuts at the very root of the fundamental rights of citizenship, free association, freedom of speech,

freedom of the Press etc. and that the Bill should be withdrawn from the Legislature at once.

In moving the above resolution, Mr.Venkatarama Sastri prefaced his remarks by saying that he would fain believe that they would have laid the foundations at the Unity Conference of that unity which was so important a factor for the development of their national life and that, if that was really achieved, it did not matter very much whether this Bill was passed in the Assembly or not and whether the result of the third Round Table Conference was something tangible or not. If the achievement of unity, he added, was complete and satisfactory, whatever might be the emergencies that they would have to meet in the coming times, they would be able to meet them with courage and united strength. In his own mind, the speaker went on to say, he believed that true Englishmen, both official and non-official, in this country would have no difficulty in understanding their (Indian)attitude of mind. This legislation would be felt by every true Englishman to be abominable in its character and it was wholly against the genius and tradition of English law and English legislation (hear, hear and applause) Both official and non-official Englishmen were uncomfortable in their heart of hearts in pressing this legislation through. If the non-official Englishman kept silent, it was not because he was not uncomfortable but because it was his habit, it was the tradition of his country to leave people with responsibility free to face that responsibility in the manner they best chose without hampering them by expressions of discordant opinion.

Speaking about the Bill, Mr.Sastri said that the legislation was wholly ill-conceived in its contents and ill-timed. They were told that they were on the eve of constitutional reforms and that they were going to have Provincial Autonomy and Central Responsibility also of some kind. There would be difficulties enough in working a legislation which had to precede a consitution of that kind? It seemed to him that it was not unwise at this juncture to press through a legislaslation of that kind. As it had been pointed out by popular members in the Legislative Assembly, the emergency for which the Ordinances were brought into existence had passed. The Government claimed that the xxx emergency had passed, though, at the same time, with a curious inconsistency they claimed that it was till necessary to have provisions of the kind they had in the Ordinance for future use. As Sir Abdur Rahim had pointed out in the Legislative Assembly, this legislation touched not merely terrorism in the country, not merely those that were engaged in the Civil Disobedienct Movement but it touched every citizen in every detail of his life. Challenged bxxxxxxxxx by the members of the Assembly to show that there was any real need for passing certain of the clauses of the Bill, the Member in Charge could not say that there was any material upon which he could say it was necessary, but that, as it might become necessary at some time, it was much better to be armed to meet possible contingencies into which Congress activities might place them.

The speaker next criticised some of the provisions of the Bill, namely, these referring to discussion of people from enlisting in the Army and Naval

and Air Forces, tampering with a public servant, picketing, parental responsibility for offences by their children, and said that the Indian Penal Code was a drastic code and there was no real offence that could escape its all embracing provisions and yet it was insufficient for the purposes of the Government of to-day who desired to create more offences. Times without number they (people) had pointed out that such enactments touched not necessarily the guilty, but as confessed by the Member himself, in the case of picketing, innocent people might be caught within the meshes of this enactment. Instead of dealing with law breakers under the privisions that already existed in the statue Book, they (Government) were passing an enactment which deprived the people of the rights of citizenship, free association, freedom of speech and freedom of the Press. They could not, therefore, but emphatically protest against such legislation.

Mrs.M.E.COUSINS in seconding the resolution spoke as follows:--

I had wanted to say much to you tonight, but the hour is rather too late. While I was away, I read of the terrible sacrifices that you were called upon to suffer. I can only be ashamed to stand here before you as a member of the Western race- only that I am one with you (applause) and that I belong to the Irish race (applause) which is heart and soul with you in this struggle. I had many talks with Mr.De Valera in Geneva. I know that his heart beats with you every moment (applause).

Tonight we are not talking about what should become of the ordinance Bill- it should be called a Coercion Act, a Coercion Bill it is and nothing short of coercion. By its terms, Government is allowed to tyrannise over the people. They talk about using it to stop terrorism. As a matter of fact, Government at the present moment is the greatest terroristxx of the nation. (hear, hear and applause). I can hardly hold myself in when I think of this Bill that we have in our hands and realise that it is a strenglehold on the whole of the future of this race, unless you simply say that you will not accept its provisions and you defy them. You have defied them before. That was the reason why 80,000 of you were imprisoned since Christmas. The only way to get rid of them again is to defy them. I am personally ready to defy them at every turn. (applause). I think very often in India here that you are only still half awake to te the face that you are at war, downright, very cruel tyrannous war. There must be two sides to a war. You cannot have only one side which is beating you down and down and destroying the health of the people in prison, destroying the sense of fairplay, destroying the idea of truth, justice or law, destroying that health, grabbing buildings, destroying the xxxxxxxx power of conscience, looting the people by the intensive fines. for it is nothing more than sheer loot - and all in the name of law and order and I do not know what the law is. I think that it is the very license of the power of brute force, the fact that it is the top dog and has power of armaments and possession, present possession being nine points of law still. Until you can turn that Government out, there will be

nothing whatever but terrorism and - coercoin the whole way long and they will affect every - section of the country. Take the one question of picketing I had the privilege of standing with my Indian sisters and picketing cloth bazaar and cloth markets and I shall not be sorry to do it again, if necessary. When I was in America, every day I saw in New York men and women picketting, picketting for labour purposes, picketing for Trade Union wages, picketing in the case of strikes and everywhere lawful, perfectly lawful. This Government at present says "We want you to encourage home industries", but the greatest encouragement that they would invest us with for home industries was peaceful picketing. Nobody could say that it was coercion. It was peaceful picketing. And the only one unpeaceful side of it was the side of the police; that was where there was no peace. Yet, that picketing has been the greatest advertisement. The talking part of it was very small. You simply said please don't buy foreign goods". The Congress form of advertisement for home industries, for doing away with foreign cloth, for boycotting XXXXXX British goods- and it still needs it. (applause) for boycotting foreign cloth, foreign everything and particularly British- foreign everything. In that case you are doing away with one of the greatest weapon instruments of advertisement which is at the disposal of the home industries movement, a movement which is vital to the freedom of this country, absolutely vital. Now, I say that for the Swadeshi Leagues that were put out of existence, by a very clever and delightful turn from Tweedledum to Tweedledee you have the Buy Indian League and it is doing what the Swadeshi League originally did, but very much hampered

152 ~~332~~ 404

by the fact that it has not yet developed the mediym which was used before. I think that now that the Congress is supposed to have been throttled, it had better change its name - take a double SS. - and just go on in some other way. That perhaps would be a way of getting out of difficulties and doing what is there to do, because if there is one thing that is proved by this Coercion Act, by this Ordinance Bill, it is the fact that it has not succeeded, if it had been truly successful, in crushing the Congress and the patriotic fervour of the people. It would not need to have been produced for three years, to have been extended for three years. It has failed and the Government knows it has failed. It has failed or else they would not have needed on like that.
How do we know that it has failed? Because when Mr. Gandhi or Mrs.Gandhi is invited and comes along on the beach and speaks downright commonsense, the people are ready to hear them and to give their aid to what they tell them; the people are buying home cloth and Khaddar more than they did and they helped in different ways. But there is a certain amount of fear which has to be conquered, and I think it is a question of mentality; that also has to be built up. Those of us who are good fighters either by race or by feeling or strength have got to keep that spirit, by fighting well and foremost in the people, so that they may all defy the Ordinances and make them inoperative by defying them.

I have very great pleasure in supporting this proposal which is before the meeting. I protest

153 333 405

in every possible way that I can against the injustice of the powers of this Bill which ruin the health of prisoners, which give punishment out of proportion entirely to the technical offence, which penalises all who give help to patriots, civil resisters. I protest against its powers to strangle the Congress and I boldly proclaim my membership of the Congress and my propaganda for it. (applause). I protest against the gagging of the press and the denial of free speech and free rights of ~~xxxxblyxx~~ assembly specially at this crisis when every citizen should have the fullest facility for discussing ~~on~~ the destiny of the nation and the details of the constitution which is in the making. I protest against the exclusion of congress representatives from all the Conference and discussions on the fate of India. I protest against the denial of the rights of picketing allowed in other countries and proved successful in creating interest in home industries and in better morality. I for one am ready to defy these Ordinances and prove that they have no power to suppress my right of free self-expression for the freedom of this old but newly awakened great race with its holy leader and its fights of a new technique for the world by which it can struggle and attain freedom without recourse to mutual murder which was the weapon and is still the weapon of the Western world. (loud applause).

Mr. B.SHIVA RAO, in supporting the resolution said that he was not against these repressive measures,

because when he tought of what had happened in this country during the last eight or ten months, he ~~xx~~ felt that they owed a great deal to the Ordinances; they had compelled them to turn their attention to the real needs, to the progress of the Swadeshi movement and the Buy Indian League. The speaker referred to the speech of His Excellency the Governor at the St.Andrew's Dinner at which he was reported to have paid a great tribute to Sir Md.Usman, the Home Member, and said that so long as there were men of that type (laughter) who were willing to do what their conscience bid them to do, he was confident that any constitution could be worked. (laughter). The speaker added that it was true. Continuing, the speaker said that the Government, having bound the people handx xx and foot, having gagged their Press, were going to proceed to put an economic noose round their necks. Severity of repression was not a sign of British strength but of British despair. (applause). The British lion was turning to bay because he felt his day was over. With Mrs.Cousins' countrymen and country-women not exactly declaring their love for Great Britain at the present moment, with the number of unemployed going up from one million to three millions, with America not in a mood to be generous, what else could they expect from the British who after all were human beings and trying to keep India as long as they could? He asked what was the answer going to be to it. The Buy Indian League was non-political and he would leave the suggestion to them to buy swadeshi, to preach swadeshi all the time and everything would be well.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The chairman, in his concluding remarks, referred to the speech of Diwan Bahadur T.Rangachari in the Assembly on the Bill wherein he was reported to have said that the Government wanted to coerce the people of this country by Ordinance against any constitutional agitation against the unsatisfactory reforms that they were giving.

---:---

C

Extracts from the proscribed English Book "Hindu Heaven" by Max Wylie, Published by Victor Gollancz Ltd., G.O.No.459, dt.5-5-1934.

156 336 408

Review of the Naujawan Mazdur (Amritsar) of the 21st and 28th April (combined issue) 1934 edited and published by Dr. Hari Singh Chakwalia and printed by him at the Matwala Press, Amritsar.

The following are the more noticable articles, notes, etc:-

I.--A note headed, "Worthy of attention by the GOONDAS of Central Akali Dal of Patialwi Sardar Jaswant Singh, the Bacha Saqa of Jhabbal: If mean and baseless propaganda continues, honour of the daughters and daughters-in-law of no family will be safe;" from Hari Singh Chakwalia, who says:- A poster has been issued over the signatures of Sardar Jaswant Singh, General Secretary, Central Akali Dal in order to bring absolutely false and absurd charges against private life as is done by GOONDAS and rowdies. In it mud has been thrown at the workers of Shiromani Akali Dal. We think this mischief has been started in an organised way, as Amar Singh, proprietor of the SHER-i-Punjab, who is the ringleader of GOONDAS, ruffians, toadies, national traitors, evil-doers and mean, faithless, shameless, deceitful and treacherous persons, has also held out a threat, through the columns of his paper, to fling mud at the workers of the Akali Party. We warn the national traitors of the Central Akali Dal not to play with this fire, for this sport will cost them dear. We, too, are in possession of photographs of prominent leaders with their beloved.........each of whom has been getting rupees thirty per mensem for months together. We most respectfully request the workers of Central Akali Dal to give a dispassionate consideration to these lines, else they will receive a stone for a brick-bat. We are prepared to combat the traitors in every way.

II.--The leader in which Hari Singh Chakwalia says:- Our Delhi correspondent states that the object of the Princes Protection Act, as now understood, is only to prevent newspapers from criticising the administration of States. The question remains whether we shall be daunted by this Act or not. When even under the existing laws of the British Government we do not desist from making criticism, how can we be kept back from doing so by the Princes Protection Act? In other words, the Act will not be able to prevent us from exposing

the secrets of the satanic doings of Maharajas. Even after the passage of the Bill, we shall be in a position to write (1) that Sardar Lal Singh was got murdered by the Maharaja of Patiala so that His Highness might admit Lal Singh's wife into his palaces and gratify his carnal desires; (2) that a quarrel arose between the Maharaja and his officials over a public woman and that two or four days after this incident two officials were found murdered; (3) how Sardar Narain Singh was dismissed for failing to procure girls from the Chail Hills for the Maharaja of Patiala to commit adultery with; (4) true facts of the death of Raja Ranbir Singh and how it took place; (5) why Anwar, a prostitute, was kept in Patiala palaces; (6) (about) the death of Moghal Jan, a prostitute, and the dreadful tale of her captivity in palaces; (7) (about) the keeping of Amar Jan, a prostitute forcibly shut up in palaces; (8) how the Maharaja of Patiala forcibly took possession of the wife of a poor peasant and how her husband was threatened and given ten thousand rupees; (9) how the daughter of a shop-keeper of the Junga State was forcibly abducted; (10) (about) the plans for entrapping for immoral purposes one Miss Zohra of Alfred Theatrical Company; (11) how the death of a twelve-years young daughter of Sardar Gurdial Singh Dhak was brought about by the commission of rape on her; (12) how some Rajput girls were burnt alive and who had a hand in burning them alive; (13) (about) the laying of snare and good deal of bribing by the Maharaja for enticing the daughter of an official in the State; (14) how the death of one Ganesho of the Chail Hills was brought about; how the Maharaja abducted her; (how) a petition was made to the Deputy Commissioner, Simla, and (how) a bribe of one thousand rupees was given; (15) why the Maharaja of Patiala was prevented from staying in Simla; (16) how the wife of one Hari Mohan was forcibly brought to the boat of the Maharaja, when His Highness visited Kashmir, and in what circumstances she was paid ten thousand rupees; (17) (about) the abduction of Amar Kaur, wife of Sardar Amar Singh of Rurka, and the offer of twenty thousand rupees; and (18) (about) the murder of Dr. Bakhshish's daughter. Practice of force at every place may, to some extent, be necessary in the interests of

administration, but to make unholy efforts, like GOONDAS and BADMASHES, to entrap every beautiful woman, is not at all justifiable and no law whatsoever can countenance such shamelessness. We are glad the Government of Lord Willingdon has refused to give the Maharaja of Patiala the shelter of the law to which he thought he would have recourse to throw a veil over his misdeeds. This means that no law can prevent us from styling the Maharaja of Patiala a BADMASH, a debauch and a murderer. The only course left is to remove this worshipper of Satan from GADDI, so that daughters, daughters-in-law and other women of the people may lead an honourable life, else in the presence of the Maharaja chastity of none is safe.

III.--A sub-editorial, in which Hari Singh Chakwalia refers to the proscriptions of his paper and remarks:- We have said many a time that these proscriptions are meaningless. Justice demands that the Governments of Lord Willingdon and Sir Sikandar Hyat (Khan) should make the Maharaja of Patiala stand his trial in any judicial Court in British territory. We are prepared to substantiate the charges we have brought against His Highness. Our Lahore correspondent states that the Maharaja of Patiala is staying in Lahore for the last two weeks and is rubbing his nose on the threshold of Sir Sikandar Hayat's Government. Since the day the dispute about Kanwar Bajinder Singh arose, situation has become critical and the Maharaja of Patiala has been knocking about sometime in Lahore and sometime in Delhi. The Maharaja of Patiala, therefore, cannot remain on GADDI for long.

IV.--A note, in which Hari Singh Chakwalia says:- The Princes Protection Bill, if enacted, will mean a new calamity for the oppressed subjects and a new bomb-shell for the world of journalism. But the pen of the NAUJAWAN MAZDUR has a clear way ahead. As the law embodied, in this Bill does not shelter the depraved personal character of Rajas, the expression of our feelings in respect of the Maharaja of Patiala will undergo no change.

V.--A note, in which Hari Singh Chakwalia observes:- No sooner did I come across the circular issued by the Maharaja of Patiala regarding the prohibition of the entry of the NAUJAWAN MAZDUR in all

States, I uttered involuntarily the following words:-"Dogs bark but caravan passes on." These words sufficiently indicate the firm determination of the NAUJAWAN MAZDUR which, even remaining outside the states, has the courage to expose the deceits and machinations of this BADMASH Maharaja of Patiala.

VI.--An article, in the course of which the paper says:-The Maharaja of Patiala, availing of a clause of the Extradition Treaty among different Punjab States, has required them to prohibit within their territories the entry of the NAUJAWAN MAZDUR which exposes the misdeeds of His Highness. We are not at all afraid of the attack made on the paper by the Maharaja of Patiala, but we shall see whether similar action is also taken against the SIKH SEWAK and the SHER-i-PUNJAB which are financed by the Maharaja of Patiala and which are carrying on venomous propaganda against Bahawalpur, Kapurthala and other States. The Maharaja will not, so far as we know, prohibit the entry of these papers in his State and thus the pact concluded among Punjab States will automatically die.

VII.-In a cartoon headed, "How the BADMASH Maharaja of Patiala--the hunter of women--brings under his control the women of his subjects the Maharaja of Patiala is represented as hotly pursuing women who, being frightened are running towards their village. The paper alleges that the Patiala treasury, which is also shown in the cartoon is spent on the violation of the chastity of women.

----

160 340 412

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

1930 to 1935

(Proscribed literature 1934)

ABSTRACT OF THE GØO.

(Suthanthram" - tamil journal - forfeited.)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.1090(Confidential)dated 27-10-1934, Public (Gen) Dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited three issues of the tamil journal entitled "Suthanthram" Published from pondicherry.

--

161 341 413

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Civil Disobedience Movement

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. 1930 to 1935

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O. (Proscribed literature 193

(Tamil Book - forfeited - declared.)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.999(Confidential)dated 13-6-1935, Public (Gen) Dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a book in tamil entitled "Kudi Arasu Kalambakan,part I" containing the speeches and writings of E.V.Ramaswamy naicker the leader of the self-respect party.

Extracts from GOs relating to civil disobedience movement in the Madras Presidency (Proscribed liter.) (1935) (1933-

 162 342

Objectionable Publications.

1. G.O. No. 103, dated 17-1-1935, Confidential

The following is an extract of the speech delivered by Sri S. Satyamurti.

Translation of a speech (25 pages) delivered by S. Satyamurti (serial No. 24, Madras Political Who's Who), at Madras on 13-11-1934, is submitted.

Subject:- Assembly Elections--Audience - about 6,000 Chairman - Mrs. Rukmani Lakshmipathi.

The Speech was recorded in shorthand and notes and a Tamil transcript are on record.

The audience heard the speech with interest.

- - -

"President, sisters and brothers,

I have visited 6000 or 7000 houses during the last 3 months, and although my body felt the pain, I was highly pleased at the unity, patriotism, and sense of sacrifice in the city. For the last 10 days in this city there has been a huge national festival, which is still going on. I am the moveable idol of the festival. The glory of it all, however, is yours. As Mrs. Lakshmipathi said, my head reels at the number of votes, viz. 8758. Even in western countries such huge numbers had not been attained in voting.

Some say that the reason for this was because the men of both parties spoke well. It is not the reason.

The lady president said that tens of thousands of our women went to the poll, with a view to keep in check the arrogance of this Government, to show that Congress cannot be crushed, and to show that the adopted sons of the Government have no place in this country. She said that all the women gave their votes only for me. Yes, I fully believe it. When I went to a booth that day, and stayed there for two minutes, one sister came. The official asked her for whom she was going to vote. She replied 'For Ayyar only - for Congress only, and not for any others'. I am very glad to hear that similar things took place in every division . This is not all. Hundreds of women considered this matter their own and worked incessantly day and night. In consequence, Congress won. Those women who came to the forefront during the Satyagraha movement and brought undying fame and praise to the country and themselves, they, and others, assisted me by taking part in this election campaign. My success is the success of Congress, but it is a poor Congressman's victory. Some are haughty on account of their wealth, and in the belief that only a rich man can win in Madras. You have proved that it is not so, and that it is possible in Madras even for a poor Congressman to stand and win. I can specify the brethren who worked on my behalf. They are rickshawallas, cart drivers, beggars, coolies, labourers, adi-dravidas, Christians, and Anglo-Indians - yest, Anglo-Indians - all Hindus who did not care for differences of caste, children over the age of three years, and school boys. I make one prayer for this, and that is, may God give me the strength and sense of sacrifice to deserve all this kindness.

164

364

You have strongly condemned, through this victory, the repressive policy adopted by the Government. My mothers and sisters have condemned the treachery of the Justice party, which tolerated a magistrate causing the tali of a Hindu woman to be snatched in a public court. Let the Government note this. Let the Justice Party note this.

You have condemned the Justice Party which was a slave of slaves to Sir Usman Sahib, who approved of my brothers and children being beaten in Rattan Bazaar, and of my sisters being made to bathe in gutter water. (Shame, Shame). Let the Government note this. Let the Justice Party note this.

You have condemned this heartless Government which refused even buttermilk to political prisoners, and the Justice Party who took no pains in the matter.

It is said that Sir George Stanley is to leave our city in two or three days. Shakespeare has beautifully written "In all his life, nothing became him more than the leaving of it". In all Sir George Stanley's life, nothing like leaving Madras will be becoming of him. No one will feel sorry that this gentleman is going. It is this Governor who spurred the injustice of the Justice Party more than any other Governor. Forcing Dewan Bahadur Muniswami Nayudu to leave, he made the Raja of Bobbili minister so as to crush Congress. They say in English, "The schemes of men, ...etc.,". God spoils the work done by men. Let Sir George Stanley ponder over this while on the steamer.

I do not know him. If I had known him, I would have gone and told him this - "You spoilt this Province by stupidly playing into the hands of the Justice Party for

five years, and by abusing your powers. It is a good time. Go! Go! Do not come back." Let him go.

Another point. This victory indicates that you have rejected the White Paper and its elder brother - the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee - which is to take away even what exists. We shall raise the clarion call in Delhi - Swami Venkatachalam Chetti, the coming ten members, and myself, like this - "We do not want this false Swaraj". We will compel the formation of a constituent assembly. My rival Mudaliar laughed at this. You do not laugh. I shall hasten like a horse, as your representative, and say:- "This victory, in addition to being the defeat of the Government, is also the defeat of the Justice Party". At the present time we should be careful and see that such communal parties do not spring up at any time. This Justice Party did no good to the people. They cannot do any good. They will not do (any good). It is a party of job and title-hunters. There is no honour even among themselves. Each for himself. It is God alone who should attent to the business of the others. There is no salvation for Dr. Natesa Mudaliar. It is such a party. Not only that. This Raja of Bobbili, in a manner outbeating the Rajah of Panagal, and considering there was no one equal to him, like the tenheaded Ravana, shook these District Boards and Municipalities as a monkey would a garland, with a view to ensure the success of his party in this election. He has been a traitor to his appointment. Even the Raja of Panagal did not carry on such unjust administration

Some have come to me and said that the Raja of Bobbili is an able and very clever man, and a big zamindar, and thus threatened me. He is a young boy who has not even started the first lessons in political matters. He has only got money. He has the capacity to betray the country to the Government, and for this reason he is the First Minister, and the others beat the drum. Is this just? This party must be destroyed.

Other reasons apart, If local self Government institutions should be properly conducted in our province, this party administration should end, and you have authorised me to do so by your vote. I wish to state publicly another point about this job-hunting party. I ask: "How many appointments of Honorary Magistrates have been made within the last six months? To how many have promises been made for appointments? To how many persons have they sworn to give presidentships of panchayats?" Is it for this power is given? We must destroy this also. Not only this. This party is endlessly fementing caste disputes. You have shown that it is a day dream to think that members of this party (which perpetuates disputes as Nayudus, Mudaliars, Brahmins, etc.,) will certainly succeed in the ~~elet~~ elections. Let God protect you. In spite of this, the Raja of Bobbili wants to be minister again. Why? After passing a resolution in the Justice Party Confederation that Brahmins would be admitted, the next day at a meeting on the beach he said: "Satyamurti is a Brahmin, do not vote for him." What justice! What dignity! What honesty! What honour! But in Congress there are no caste differences. We are all of one caste, i.e., the caste for freeing India from bondage. We have only one religion, the Swaraj religion.

 168 347 419

Now I wish to say a word about what we should do in the future. You have instructed us on what we should do in the All-India Assembly. We have first to elect a President. It is a pity Sir Shanmukhan Chettiar is not available. But I wish to state one thing publicly. Whoever is arrogant is sure to be defeated. What! Without nerve in the tongue, you who attained eminence by riding on the back of Congress, what did you say about that Congress? God has given you the wages in the Kaliyuga. At least come to congress now and ask for pardon, saying that all you did was wrong. If you approach us in that manner, we will welcome you, saying 'All come - see there is pleasure', as we are big persons and have not got that spirit of revenge. It is wrong to have spoken thus about Congress - "I will keep Congressmen in order".

First we have to elect a president. We shall elect a proper person like Patel. We shall see this Government to some extent, but we must make this city a Congress fort. We should not merely rest content with joy but must show the joy in action. Congress committes should be formed in each division and you should all render assistance to the District Congress Committee and to me. This city Municipal Corporation! Have you seen it? We are only 4 or 5 persons there. Hence, alone, the Sun rises. Congressmen should capture all the seats of the Corporation. I have gone round these thirty divisions. It is impossible for others to stand against Congressmen. if they stand for election. You have given notice to those who worked like sepoys. Let 30 persons be put up by Congress for the divisions and I shall work and get victory for them at little expense. Therefore you should get absorbed in that work also. I shall also ask for another thing. I humbly request that all of

you should wear Khaddar. Khaddar is the dress of the nationalists party. It is half food for the poor. It will give pleasure to Mahatma Gandhi. Ramaswami Mudaliar asked for the vote saying that Mahatma Gandhi has left Congress. If you all wear khaddar with the idea that Mahatma Gandhi should return, he will surely return to Congress. That is not all. We should get rid of unemployment of the masses, excessive taxation, and the feeling within us that we are slaves. We shall work for this. It is not all. Many have been suffering for the last four years, having been in the fight for Swaraj. They have lost lands. They have paid huge fines. We shall work as far as possible for the return of these lands and the fines. It is not all. We are not now going to the Assembly with the idea of returning. We are going to stay there eternally. We are going to capture all institutions from the village Panchayat boards upwards. We are going to accept Ministerships. We are not going to give room to the Justice Party. It is difficult to fight the Government keeping this 'Sikandies' If the 'Sikandies' are destroyed, the Government will surely come to terms. Therefore, henceforth Congress is going to fight the Government with non-violence. As I stated often in my election meetings, even if we are not able to do anything else in the Assembly, we shall go in person and tell them this:--"This is not your land. This is our country. You came yesterday. You should go tomorrow. Go even today". We shall say this boldly. Sir Samuel Hoare and Lord Willingdon have already heard this news. I believe they know well, that their vanity won't hold water in India, and that the people have not believed those whom they trusted. The story of Lord Willingdon ~~is-like~~ is like that of getting into the water riding a mud horse. So is that of Sir S. Hoare.

I request the Justice Party to pack up. I request the few non-Brahmins also to come and join Congress. I wish to talk publicly about myself. On account of differences in caste, there might have been bitterness of religious feeling. I am also human. Hence, the thought of Brahmin and non-Brahmin might have arisen in my mind at some time, but seeing, during the last three months the help rendered to me by my non-Brahmin brothers and sisters, my mind has completely changed, enunciating the truth of the verse - " for untiring help rendered, sacrifice and intelligence are hardly substitutes." I have found that all are my brothers. What I pray to God is that the minds of all in this country should change, and that we should work all together patriotically and with equality.

One word more. I asked you this: "Swaraj is required immediately, hence give me your vote". Mr. Mudaliar openly asked me "Do you believe that Swaraj will come soon?" I replied in the affirmative. You also have stated that you do believe so and gave me 8758 votes. Hence Swaraj will surely come victoriously. Those who obstruct its coming are like the wooden handle of the axe. You have destroyed them, so that they cannot raise their heads again. We must fly the Congress flag in this city without any break. For this purpose, if only you would help me and Congress in the manner stated by me, even in our lifetime we can attain Swaraj, and it will be possible for me to plant the national flag with my hands (As your representative) in this Fort. That is all I have to say.

170

350
422

As far as I am concerned, I wish to express again my gratitude. For the help you have rendered, it will be an adequate return even if my skin is used for making the shoes you are wearing. What love! What patronage! What efforts! What enthusiasm! It is I who won. You all consider that you succceeded. It is this which is victory. It is the reason why you all feel happy. I again say in your august presence "I shall spend the remainder of the life given to me by God, working heartily for the emancipation of my country, and serving you. I shall go to Delhi and I shall fight. I shall come back and report to you. I shall listen to what you may have to say. I shall go again and fight. We shall repeat this for three years and attain Swaraj. If Swaraj is not attained, I shall go again and fight. Bande Mataram."

The following is a summary of the speech delivered by Sir S. Satyamurthi at the Congress House, Royapettah, Madras on the "Lucknow Congress and the work before us".

"Mr. Satyamurthi said that the Session of the Congress in Lucknow was unprecedented in these respects. For the first time in the history of the congress, a person belonging to a province in which the Congress was held, was in the Chair. Secondly the Session was held during Easter Holidays and thirdly Congress met under the Bombay Constitution. Another feature was that the Session was held in open air. He desired to tell the youth of the Presidency that if they wanted to take their place in national life and to play their part in all India organisations. They should learn Hindustani. Speaking

about the Congress Cabinet he said that the working Committee practically decided every question that came up before the Congress. One of the resolutions passed related to suppression of Civil Liberties. Special attention was drawn in the resolution to the fact that the suppression was at its worst at present and an appeal was made for the carrying on of an agitation against the repressive laws. The next resolution pointed out that the question of India's freedom should be made an International one. India was an original Member of the League of Nations. They should make it clear to the world that so long as Imperialism lasted India could not be free and that only when India was free could there be permanent peace in this world. When India was admitted into the League as an original member Britain promised to give here freedom. That promise had not been kept. The existence of the war danger was pointed out by the Lucknow Congress, and a resolution was adopted stating that Indians had the right to refuse to participate in a war unless their express permission was given for launching on it. This right had been given to the Dominions. The war danger had become imminent because of the Italian attack on Ethiopia, the Japanese aggression and the occupation of the Rhineland by Germany. India had no interest in any imperialistic policy. She wanted to make the world safe for democracy and for humanity. Mr. Satyamurthi next dealt with the resolution on the Government of India Act, and said that the decision of the Congress was an important one. Beginning with the Simon Commission, the Round Table Conferences, the white paper, the Parliamentary Committee's report, the Act and the rules thereunder - these had been a progressive decline. The Congress therefore stated

that the Act was designed to facilitate and perpetuate the domination of the British over the people of India and therefore reiterated its rejection of the new constitution in its entirety. The constitution could not be rejected by merely passing a resolution. Mr. Satyamurthi appealed to all to carry the message of the Congress to all parts of the province. He appealed to all to enrol themselves as members of the Congress and to wear only Khaddar and use only Swadeshi.
The Tamil Nad Congress, he said, also desired to start a Summer School of Politics and give a short course of training to about thirty young men in doing Congress work and import to them some very necessary education in matters relating to public finance, general economics, Indian history, Indian tariff policy, Khaddar, village industries, Harijana work, Hindi Seva Dal and health work. Other nations fighting for their freedom, he concluded, had paid the Supreme penalty of their lines. He would appeal to all prosent to do something for their country".

12. G.O. No. 1635, Confidential dated 5-10-1935.

Sri P.S. Kumaraswamy Raja of Rajapalayam addressed two congress meetings on 21-7-1935 at Tinnevelley.
At one of the meetings he referred to His Majesty the King as a puppet and stated that the Government had a King simply in order to comply with the provisions of Section 124-A. I.P.C. About 200 persons listened to his speeches.
Mr. Raja observed that among all the places it was only in Tinnevelley that the largest number of persons entered prison, received Blows and experienced the hardships which resulted therefrom.

Extracts from G.Os relating to [illegible] in the Madras Presidency :- ([illegible]) 1935 19[illegible]

mm 13. G.O. No. 2523. Confidential dated 1-10-36.

Under the auspieces of the Tellicherry Town Congress Committee a public meeting was held on 29-7-1936 at which R.S. Nimbkar of Bombay addressed. Mr. Nimbkar in the course of his address said that the Indian National Congress was committed to the attainment of complete independence as its ideal and the speaker would therefore deal with the goal and programme of that party alone brushing aside the other parties who did the bidding of their masters, the ruling classes of Great Britain. The Capitalist classes of Great Britain did not want to lose India because India paid them every year to the extent of 750 million pounds by way of commercial and other interests. At the worst they would like to have India as a dominion like South Africa or Australia. Therefore it was they were saying that Dominion Status was the goal of India and to that end they would ask Indians to wait. Dominion Status meant to Great Britan the complete exploitation of the financial resources of India. With this ideal, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri and the Justice Party agreed.

He continued. It is the programme of the Congress leading us to complete independence. The Congress today is led and ruled by Mahatma Gandhi. And what is the programme that this great leader gets the Congress to pass for the achievement of complete independence. He wants you to believe in spiritualism first. Then he says 'go and fast' Pray, I want the heart of that nice Englishman, King Edward VIII to melt. Therefore I want you to be truthful and completely non-violent. If

174

354

xxx
after banning a meeting to stop your activity, the police break your head, ask them to beat you twice. And if after issuing firmans and ordinances, the British Soldier fires at you, tell him "Look here, why fire me alone, fire my other brothers too, Let us all die. This is short, is the programme of Mahatma Gandhi adopted by the organisation, the Indian National Congress so far."

1 *
***
*****
****
*****
***
*

Extracts from G.O.s relating to civil disturbances in the Madras Presidency (Proscribed literature) 1937-1930

G.O.No. 1917 Public Confidential dated 8-10-1937. 355 175

Mr. A.S.K. Iyengar delivered many speeches in the Madras city under the auspices of different associations. The following is the opinion of the Advocate-General about the speeches of Mr. A.S.K. Iyengar.

"The various speeches delivered by this speaker are mainly direct towards glorifying the communistic ideology, attacking the bourgeois elements in the Congress and putting forward a plea for revolution i in men's ideas and attitude in regard to the present state of society. There is also a condemnation of police surveillance on the activities of the socialists and the speeches delivered by them."

Mr. A.S.K. Iyengar is a member of the Madras Provincial Branch of the Communist Party of India. On 26-1-1936 he delivered a speech in Madras which was clearly seditious and which included the significant passage "Freedom and independence were never won by any country in the world by non-violence of constitutional agitation. This Government must be overthrown by means that it is legitimate be it violent or non-violent. Mr. Iyengar is no way disassociates himself from the communists fundamental tenet that the objects of communism can only be attained by mass violence. He has consistently attacked the Gandhian philosophy of Non-violence.

- - - - - -

C

27/11/12/RH/12

C

6623/RH

5/05/RH/06

30/1/18/RI/RH

28/5/2013/RI

29/4/16/RI

15.4.18/RH/RI